

# VIII

## THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS IN THE CRUSADER STATES

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### A. *Foundation and Organization of the Order*

T

he two oldest military religious orders—the order of the Temple and the order of the Hospital of St. John—came into existence after the successful First Crusade. The former evolved from a handful of devout Frankish knights in Jerusalem who had vowed to defend with the sword the Christian pilgrims and pilgrim routes to the holy places

The basic source for the founding of the Teutonic order is an anonymous contemporary account, *Narracio de primordiis ordinis theutonici*; the best editions of the text are by Max Töppen in *Scriptores rerum prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* (5 vols., Leipzig, 1861–1874), I, 220–225; Max Perlbach, *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens* (Halle, 1890), pp. 159–160; and Walther Hubatsch, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, V; Göttingen, 1954), pp. 26–30. The authoritative source for the organization and internal life of the Teutonic Knights is the statutes of the order, ed. Perlbach (see above); tr. Indrikis Sterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry* (diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969). The principal collection of original documents relative to the compilation of the statutes, the order's possessions in the crusader states, its economic policy, and its disputes with the Hospitallers and Templars is edited by Ernst Strehlke, *Tabulae ordinis theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice* (Berlin, 1869; repr. Toronto, 1975).

There is no single collection of sources for the deeds of the Teutonic Knights; their participation in crusade warfare is only occasionally mentioned in various medieval chronicles. The chief works are Oliver (Saxo), *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. [sic, error] Sabina Oliverus*, in *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, CCII (Tübingen, 1894), 159–282; tr. John J. Gavigan, *The Capture of Damietta by Oliver of Paderborn* (Philadelphia, 1948); Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (Rolls Series, 57; 7 vols., 1872–1883); tr. John A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273* (3 vols., London, 1852–1854); Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett (Rolls Series, 84; 3 vols., 1886–1889); tr. Giles, *Flowers of History: The History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235* (2 vols., London, 1849); *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Outremer: La continuation de l'Estoire de Guillaume archevesque de Sur* (*RHC, Occ.*, II, 1–481); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin* (*RHC, Occ.*, II, 483–639); Philip of Novara, *Mémoires*, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (*SOL, SH*, V; Geneva, 1887), pp. 25–138; also in *RHC, Arm.*, II, 651–736; portion ed. Charles Kohler (*Les Classiques français du moyenâge*, X; Paris, 1913); tr. John L. LaMonte and Merton J. Hubert, *The Wars of Frederick II*

in Palestine. The latter arose from an Amalfitan hospital brotherhood in Jerusalem, whose members cared for the sick, the old, and the poor. Only gradually did the brethren of these two foundations assume the duty of defending the crusader states, but once they began to participate in skirmishes and wars against the Saracens, their reputation as zealous Christian knights grew rapidly, and their possessions and wealth increased accordingly.

The third of the great military religious orders, the order of the German Hospital of St. Mary of Jerusalem, commonly known as the Teutonic order or the Teutonic Knights, was not established until al-

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against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus (*CURC*, 25; New York, 1936); the "Templar of Tyre," *Chronique*, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud, pp. 139–334; also in *RHC, Arm.*, II, 737–872. On the participation of the Teutonic Knights in the defense of Acre in 1291 the most detailed accounts are by Ludolph of "Suchem" (Sudheim), *De itinere Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks, in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, XXV (Stuttgart, 1851), 1–104; also a German version, *Reise ins Heilige Land*, ed. Ivar von Stapelmoehr (Lunder germanistische Forschungen, VI; Lund, 1937), pp. 93–158; tr. Aubrey Stewart, *Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither* (*PPTS*, XII-3 [1895], 1–142); and by Ottokar of Styria, *Österreichische Reimchronik*, ed. Joseph Seemüller (*MGH, Scriptores qui vernacula lingua usi sunt*, V, 1890–1893). For the short-lived enterprise of the Teutonic Knights in Transylvania the main collection of sources is *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner (Hermannstadt, 1892).

About the deeds of the individual masters only those of the fourth master Hermann of Salza are widely reflected in contemporary sources. The indispensable work about Hermann and his relations with emperor Frederick II is the calendar of Frederick compiled by Johann F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, vol. V, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV., Friedrich II., Heinrich (VII.), Conrad IV., Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard, 1198–1272*, . . ., ed. Julius Ficker and Eduard Winkelmann (3 vols. in 5, Innsbruck, 1881–1901). The basic collection of primary sources about Hermann under Frederick II is edited by J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (7 vols. in 12, Paris, 1852–1861); many of the documents also appear in *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum romanorum*, ed. Georg H. Pertz and Carl Rodenberg (3 vols., 1883–1894), and *MGH, Legum*, sect. IV: *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, II (Hanover, 1896), ed. Ludwig Weiland. The most important contemporary narrative in which Hermann is mentioned was written by Richard of San Germano, *Chronica 1189–1243*, ed. Pertz (*MGH, SS.*, XIX [1866], 321–384). About Hermann's role in the incorporation of the Swordbearers of Livonia into the Teutonic order the most explicit contemporary account is written by the eleventh master, Hartmann of Heldrungen, "Bericht über die Vereinigung des Schwertbrüderordens mit dem Deutschen Orden und über die Erwerbung Livlands durch den Letztern," ed. Theodor Hirsch (*SSRP*, V, 168–172). Short remarks about the anniversaries of the masters are collected by Perlbach, "Deutsch-Ordens Necrologe," in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XVII (Göttingen, 1877), 357–371.

About the official residence of the master in the Holy Land, Montfort, and its destruction, the scanty information comes from Arabic sources: ad-Dimashqi (Muhammad ibn-Ibrāhīm), "Nukhbāt ad-dahr fi 'ajā'ib al-barr wa-l-bahr," in August F. Mehren, *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui* (St. Petersburg, 1866); the text relative to Montfort tr. Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Boston, 1890; repr. Beirut, 1965), p. 495; Ibn-al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh ad-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, Arabic MS. Cod. Vind. (Vienna, AF 814), the text relative to Montfort tr. Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, II; Bonn, 1967), 232–233. Archaeological evidence about Montfort is described and evaluated by Bashford Dean, *A Crusader's Fortress*

most eighty years later, after the disastrous German failure in the Third Crusade. It was founded by a few German clerics and knights from the remnants of the scattered crusader army of emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, who had drowned in Anatolia. Though the deeds, achievements, and significance of the Teutonic Knights differ from those of the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller, their history is closely related to that of the other two military religious orders.

Tradition links the Teutonic order with German hospitals in Jerusalem and Acre. There is no official document extant about the founding of the Teutonic order, but the clearest references to a German hospi-

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*in Palestine: A Report of Explorations Made by the Museum, 1926* (The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, XXII-2, New York, September 1927).

The sole source about medical work among the Teutonic Knights is their statutes (see above). The general advance of medicine in the west during the crusades is well depicted in *The School of Salernum: Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* (Latin text with Engl. tr. of 1609 by John Harington; a recent ed. by Paul B. Hoeber, New York, 1920). For Moslem knowledge of medicine in the Near East, see Usāmah ibn-Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh*, tr. Philip K. Hitti (CURC, 10; New York, 1929), and as-Samarqandī, *The Medical Formulary of Al-Samargandi*, tr. Martin Levey and Noury Al-Khaledy (Philadelphia, 1967).

Among the principal secondary works, mention must be made first of Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898); LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (3 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1951-1954); Hans Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur kirchlichen, politischen, gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1908); and Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellman, eds., *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen, XVI; Sigmaringen, 1980). Of more specific character are Marian Tumler, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400 mit einem Abriss der Geschichte des Ordens von 1400 bis zur neuesten Zeit* (Montreal, 1955); Ernst Hering, *Der Deutsche Orden* (Leipzig, 1934); and Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (cited above).

Among the specialized monographs, the most valuable are Prutz, *Die Besitzungen des Deutschen Ordens im Heiligen Lande* (Leipzig, 1877); Hubatsch, "Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse* (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 161-199; Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 331-337; and Perlbach, "Der Deutsche Orden in Siebenbürgen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXVI (1905), 415-430. About Hermann of Salza the most authoritative studies are by Erich Caspar, *Hermann von Salza und die Gründung des Deutschordensstaats in Preussen* (Tübingen, 1924); Andreas Lorck, *Hermann von Salza: Sein Itinerar* (diss., University of Kiel, 1880); and Hermann Heimpel, "Hermann von Salza," *Die grossen Deutschen: Eine Biographie* (5 vols., Berlin, 1956-1957), I, 171-186. A good biographical and genealogical study of all the masters is Ottomar Schreiber's dissertation (University of Königsberg), "Die Personal- und Amtsdaten der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ritterordens von seiner Gründung bis zum Jahre 1525," *Oberländische Geschichtsblätter*, III (Königsberg, 1909-1913), 615-762; brief modern biographies of the masters are found in *Altpreussische Biographie*, ed. Christian Krollmann, Kurt Forstreuter, and Fritz Gause (2 vols., Königsberg and Marburg, 1941-1967), *sub nominibus*. Crusader coins are briefly discussed by Henri Lavoix, *Monnaies à légendes arabes frappées en Syrie par les croisés* (Paris, 1877), and Georg Wegemann, *Die Münzen der Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Halle, 1934). A comprehensive bibliography may be found in Rudolf ten Haaf, *Kurze Bibliographie zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 1198-1561* (Göttingen, 1949).

tal in Jerusalem are those of James of Vitry, bishop of Acre (1216–1228), and John of Ypres, abbot of St. Bertin (d. 1383).<sup>1</sup> James of Vitry has left us an account of German pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the early twelfth century, in which he states that after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 by the crusaders, many Germans went thither as pilgrims, but that only a few of them knew Latin or Arabic. Therefore a German couple who lived in the city built at their own expense a hospital for the care and housing of poor and sick Germans, as well as a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This account is very similar to the tale of the Amalfitans and their hospital a century before. The German couple seem to have maintained the establishment from their own wealth and from alms, for many Germans gave money in order to support the hospital, and some even forsook worldly occupations in order to care for the sick.<sup>2</sup>

John of Ypres gives a similar account. He then goes on to describe the development of the German house in Jerusalem in a somewhat confused passage: "With the increase of devotion increased also the number of brothers there serving the Lord, and they subjected themselves to the order or rule of St. Augustine, wearing white mantles (*mantellos albos deferentes*). In the following years, like the Hospitallers, they were virtually forced to take up arms, and they devoted themselves to God and the rule of St. Augustine in defense of their lands and the fatherland,<sup>3</sup> and added black crosses to their white vestments as well as to their banners . . . in the year 1127. This order is the German order and the order of St. Mary of the Teutons."<sup>4</sup> Such were the vague traditions about the early years of the German hospital in Jerusalem which John, writing over two centuries later in Flanders, had picked up. Possibly about that time the German hospital in Jerusalem established some relation with the Hospital of St. John.

Some time in the early twelfth century the German hospital in Jerusalem was, for some unknown reason, on bad terms with the Hospitallers, who brought charges against the German hospital before the papal curia. On December 9, 1143, pope Celestine II wrote to the master of the Hospitallers, Raymond of Le Puy, that the German

1. James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis seu Iherosolimitana*, ed. Jacques Bongars, in *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols., Hanau, 1611), I, 1047–1145; abr. tr. Stewart, "The History of Jerusalem," *PPTS*, XI-2, 1–128. John of Ypres, *Chronicon . . . Sancti Bertini*, in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand (5 vols., Paris, 1717), III, 442–776; see especially pp. 443–446 and 625–626.

2. James of Vitry, ed. Bongars, I, 1085; John of Ypres, *Chronicon*, III, 626.

3. That is, the kingdom of Jerusalem.

4. John of Ypres, *loc. cit.*

hospital had stirred up dissensions and scandals. In order to avoid further discord the pope placed the German hospital under the supervision of the Hospital of St. John, though allowing the Germans to retain their own prior, servants, and the German language.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence in the sources that Conrad III had any relations with the German hospital during his stay in Jerusalem in 1148.

In the sixties or seventies of the twelfth century a priest, John of Würzburg, visited Jerusalem and later wrote a *Description of the Holy Land*,<sup>6</sup> in which there is a short passage on the German hospital: "In the same street which leads to the house of the Temple lies a hospital with a chapel which is being rebuilt anew in honor of St. Mary, and which is called the German house (*Domus Alemannorum*). Few other than German-speaking people contribute anything to its support."<sup>7</sup> At that time, seemingly, the German hospital in Jerusalem was of little significance.

In 1172 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In an extended account of the journey, Arnold of Lübeck describes how Henry was met outside the gates of the holy city by the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller. Arnold goes on to relate how Henry gave arms and a thousand marks to each order and how the Templars accompanied him to Bethlehem and Nazareth and bade farewell to him at Antioch. But Arnold writes not a single word about the German hospital in Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> Some four years later Sophia, countess of Holland, died on her third pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was buried in the German hospital.<sup>9</sup>

On the origin and development of the German hospital in Acre and its transformation into a military religious order we are better informed. The most explicit source is the anonymous contemporary account called *A Narrative on the Origin of the Teutonic Order*.<sup>10</sup>

5. J. Delaville Le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)* (4 vols., Paris, 1894-1906), nos. 154 and 155.

6. John of Würzburg, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in *PL*, 155, cols. 1053-1090; abr. tr. Stewart, "Description of the Holy Land," *PPTS*, V-2, 1-72. Stewart (p. x) assumes that John visited the Holy Land between 1160 and 1170; Prutz, *Besitzungen*, p. 11, says 1165; Runciman, *op. cit.*, II, 294, suggests about 1175.

7. John of Würzburg, in *PL*, 155, col. 1086.

8. Arnold of Lübeck, who accompanied Henry the Lion to Jerusalem (and who continued, to 1209, Helmold's "Chronicle of the Slavs"), *Chronica*, ed. Johann M. Lappenberg (*MGH, SS.*, XXI), p. 121.

9. *Annales Egmundani*, ed. Pertz (*MGH, SS.*, XVI), p. 468. For this chronicle of the monastery of Egmond in Frisia, written from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries by several writers, see Introduction, *ibid.*, pp. 442-445.

10. Perlbach, *Statuten*, p. xlivi, assumes that the *Narracio* was written about 1211, after the hospital was transformed into an order; Hubatsch, *Quellen*, p. 26, between 1204 and 1211. Cf. *Narracio*, I, 220-225.

According to it, on September 1, 1190, a contingent of German crusaders in fifty-five ships arrived in the port of Acre and prepared to help Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in the siege of the city. Among them were citizens from Bremen and Lübeck who, under the leadership of a certain Sibrand, set up near the cemetery of St. Nicholas a hospital to care for the wounded, using the sail of a ship for shelter. For over a month they carried on their work as good Samaritans until the arrival of Frederick, duke of Swabia and Alsace, and son of the late Frederick I Barbarossa, to take command of the remnants of his father's army. Soon afterward the crusaders from Bremen and Lübeck left for Germany, but before departing, on the insistence of duke Frederick and other noblemen of the German army, they handed the hospital over to Frederick's chaplain Conrad and his chamberlain Burkhard. This, the only hospital for the German forces, seems to have been well endowed with alms for its work in caring for the sick and wounded. Conrad and Burkhard renounced the world and devoted themselves to the hospital. Like the German hospital in Jerusalem this new hospital was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, probably in the hope that after the reconquest of the Holy Land it might be moved to Jerusalem and made the principal house.<sup>11</sup>

From the *Narrative* it is clear that the German hospital outside the walls of Acre was a new establishment independent of the German hospital in Jerusalem; but the German hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem was still remembered, and it was clearly the intention of the German crusaders to revive it in Jerusalem, which, even if it had not been destroyed, was in the hands of the Saracens. The *Narrative* goes on to relate that duke Frederick sent messengers with letters to his brother (later the emperor Henry VI) asking him to obtain papal recognition for the hospital at Acre. In his letter of December 21, 1196, to the German hospital in Jerusalem, Celestine III listed the hospital at Acre among its possessions, probably repeating an acknowledgment by Clement III some five years earlier.<sup>12</sup>

In the meantime, before the fall of Acre, some crusaders joined the German hospital. After the capture of the city on July 12, 1191, the brethren bought a garden inside the walls at the gate of St. Nicholas where they built a church, a hospital, and other buildings. In the church the remains of duke Frederick, who had died on January 20,

11. *Ibid.*, I, 220–221, and note 1 on p. 221.

12. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 296: bull of Celestine III, December 21, 1196, taking the order under his protection; identical to no. 295: bull of Clement III, February 6, 1191, which is regarded by Strehlke as probably a forgery. There are, however, many instances in papal correspondence of this kind of repetitive reissue.

1191, were buried, and in the hospital, run by clerics, the sick and the poor were cared for.<sup>13</sup> When, in 1196, Celestine III took the hospital of Jerusalem and its dependencies under his protection and exempted it from papal tithes, he placed the brethren under the ecclesiastical supervision of the local bishop, if he was a Catholic approved by the apostolic see, and granted them the right to elect their own master.

Emperor Henry VI had assembled a great army in Palestine, but died on September 28, 1197, before taking command. After news of the emperor's death reached them, a number of the German princes and magnates decided to "donate" to the German hospital in Acre the "rule of the Knights Templar." To carry out this decision the German ecclesiastical and temporal princes met in the house of the Templars and invited the prelates and barons of Palestine to the parley.<sup>14</sup> All present unanimously decided that the German hospital should be modeled on the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in the care of the poor and sick, but that religious, knightly, and other activities should be modeled after those of the Knights Templar.

Then, says the *Narracio*, the brothers of the German hospital who were present elected one of the knights, Hermann,<sup>15</sup> called Walpot, as master, and to him the master of the Templars, Gilbert Horal, handed a copy of the rule of the Knights Templar. A knight named Hermann of Kirchheim entered the German order, and to him Horal gave the white mantle of the Templars. Then the German princes and prelates present at the meeting sent master Hermann Walpot, accompanied by bishop Wolfger of Passau, to the Roman curia, with letters to pope

13. *Narracio*, I, 222.

14. *Ibid.*, I, 223: "hospitali prelibato ordo milicie templi donaretur." The *Narracio* dates the gathering March 1195, but Töppen gives evidence to show that 1198 would be more logical.

15. *Narracio*, I, 225, says "quondam fratrem Hermannum nomine." Peter of Dusburg, in dedicating in 1326 his major work *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* (ed. Töppen in *SSRP*, I, 21-219) to the master Werner of Orseln, states that his chronicle is an official history of the deeds of the order, and he begins with the story of the founding of the order in the Holy Land, basing it on the *Narracio*, but naming (p. 29) the first master Henry (instead of Hermann) Walpot. For Peter of Dusburg see *Altpreussische Biographie, sub nomine*; see also Helmut Bauer, "Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert in Preussen," *Historische Studien*, CCLXXII (1935), 7-56. Since the brothers of the Teutonic order did not understand Latin, the master Luther of Brunswick (1331-1335) ordered a member of the order, Nicholas of Jeroschin (about 1290 to 1345), to translate the Latin chronicle of Peter of Dusburg into German verse; this task was completed sometime after 1335. For Nicholas see *Altpreussische Biographie, sub nomine*, and Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59. Nicholas's work *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant* is edited by Strehlke in *SSRP*, I, 303-624. Nicholas, like his source Peter, calls the first master Henry (p. 313). The older generation of German historians, such as Töppen, favor Hermann Walpot, the younger generation, Henry Walpot; see Hubatsch, *Quellen*, pp. 28-29, and Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 647-648.

Innocent III asking for confirmation of the new order.<sup>16</sup> Thus by 1198 the Germans were observing the rule of the Templars and wearing the white mantle in accordance with that rule.

By a bull of February 19, 1199, Innocent III confirmed the order of the hospital "quod Theutonicum appellatur," and specified that it should model itself on the Templars as far as priests and knights were concerned, and on the Hospitallers in caring for the sick and the poor.<sup>17</sup> The order was variously called, but the usual appellation was either *hospitale sancte Marie Theutonicorum Jerosolimitanum* or *der orden des Düschen hûses*.<sup>18</sup>

A sharp distinction must be made between the German hospital in Jerusalem and the hospital in Acre: the former was founded by German merchants, the latter by German crusaders; the former was established for the care of sick and poor pilgrims, the latter for the care of sick or wounded crusaders. There is no evidence that the members of the hospital in Jerusalem ever undertook military duties, but the hospital in Acre within eight years was turned into a military brotherhood, like the Templars, with the additional duty of caring for the sick and the poor, like the Hospitallers. Why the change? While there is no evidence apart from the statement in the *Narrative* that the German princes insisted on a reorganization, it seems plausible that the German hospital was turned into an order with the hope of keeping permanently in Palestine some of the Germans eager to go home. This view is supported by the fact that at the gathering in 1198 where the change was decided upon, all the principal ecclesiastical and secular magnates of the kingdom of Jerusalem were present, along with important German princes of the dispersing army of Henry VI.<sup>19</sup>

16. *Narracio*, I, 225.

17. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 297: "Specialiter autem ordinationem factam in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus et ad exemplum Hospitaliariorum in pauperibus et infirmis, sicut provide facta est et a vobis recepta et hactenus observata, devotioni vestre auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti pagina communimus"; see also *Die Register Innocenz' III*, I, *Pontifikatsjahr 1198/99*, *Texte*, ed. Othmar Hagedener and Anton Haidacher (Publikationen der Abteilung für historische Studien des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, Abt. II, Reihe I, Bd. I; Graz and Cologne, 1964), no. 564. For a critical analysis of the sources dealing with the founding of the Teutonic order, and a somewhat different interpretation of the sequence of events involved in the elevation of the German hospital to an order, see Marie Louise Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Kieler historische Studien, 21; Stuttgart, 1974).

18. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 304: bull of Honorius III, December 19, 1216; Perlbach, *Statuten*, p. 22; German version of the prologue of the statutes. See also Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 299, 301: bulls of Innocent III, August 27, 1210, and July 28, 1211: "hospitale Theutonicorum Acconense" and "hospitale sancte Marie Theutonicorum in Accon."

19. *Narracio*, I, 223, names as present: Aymar "the Monk," the patriarch of Jerusalem; Henry (error for Aimery), ruler of Jerusalem; the archbishops Nicholas (?) of Nazareth, Joscius

In this connection a passage in the chronicle of James of Vitry is pertinent: "They [the Teutonic Knights] . . . are humbly obedient to the Lord Patriarch and to the other prelates. They render tithes of all they possess, according to the existing law and divine institution, not molesting the prelates."<sup>20</sup> Perhaps, too, some of the German knights wished to stay in Palestine, but did not wish to enter any of the existing non-German military orders.

The Teutonic Knights did not for some time have a distinct rule of their own. Innocent III as late as 1209 referred only to the customs (*consuetudines*) which had been observed by the order since its foundation. These customs included the privilege of wearing the white habit of the Knights Templar. However, in 1210 the Templars complained to Innocent about this practice,<sup>21</sup> and the pope forbade the Germans to wear the white habit. In the following year, however, after the patriarch of Jerusalem had negotiated a compromise between the Teutonic Knights and the Templars, Innocent restored the privilege of wearing the white habit to the Teutonic Knights. When the Templars continued to complain to Rome, pope Honorius III tried on January 9, 1221, to end the dispute by declaring that the Teutonic Knights were allowed to wear the white mantles and other vestments "according to their statutes."<sup>22</sup> Thus it appears that by 1221 one can already speak of some form of "statutes" of the Teutonic Knights. But the Templars still objected, and the controversy dragged on until 1230, when pope Gregory IX forbade the Templars to molest the Teutonic Knights any longer on the question of the white mantles.<sup>23</sup> About this time, too, the Hospitallers again began pressing their claims to jurisdiction over the Teutonic Knights.

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of Tyre, and Bartholomew (?) of Caesarea; bishops Peter of Bethlehem and Theobald of Acre; the masters of the Knights Templar (Gilbert Horal) and Knights Hospitaller (Geoffrey of Le Donjon); Ralph, titular lord of Tiberias, and his brother Hugh; Reginald Grenier, lord of Sidon; Aymar, lord of Caesarea, and John I of Ibelin, lord of Beirut and constable of Jerusalem; also Conrad, archbishop of Mainz; Conrad, bishop of Würzburg and imperial chancellor; Wolfgar, bishop of Passau, later patriarch of Aquileia; bishops Gardolph of Halberstadt and Berthold of Naumburg and Zeitz; Henry, count-palatine of the Rhine and duke of Brunswick; Frederick, duke of Austria; Henry, duke of Brabant, the commander of the army; the count-palatine and landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia; Conrad, margrave of Landsberg; Dietrich, margrave of Meissen; Albert, brother of margrave Otto of Brandenburg; and Henry of Kalden, the imperial marshal.

20. James of Vitry, ed. Bongars, I, 1085.

21. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 299, 300: bulls to the Teutonic Knights and the patriarch of Jerusalem, August 27, 1210.

22. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 301, 308: bulls to the Teutonic Knights, July 28, 1211, and January 9, 1221.

23. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 368, 449: bulls to the Teutonic Knights, April 17, 1222, and September 15, 1230.

Whatever the claims of the Templars and Hospitallers—and as late as the treaty of 1258 among the three military orders the Hospitallers continued to claim authority over the Germans—the Teutonic Knights after 1240 succeeded in gaining effective autonomy. Some time before February 9, 1244, when Innocent IV replied to their petition, the Teutonic Knights asked permission to discard certain paragraphs of their rule, still based on the rule of the Templars. The pope granted the order's petition, declaring, "We allow you . . . with the approval of your chapter or the greater and wiser part of it, to alter the aforementioned and other paragraphs of your rule, in the observation of which neither spiritual usefulness nor knightly honor is served."<sup>24</sup> From the pope's words it appears that the reason given by the Teutonic Knights for the desired change was that the brothers were not observing those parts of the rule which seemed useless to them. This may have been true, but it was probably the hidden intent of the Germans to get their own rule, and make themselves independent of both Hospitallers and Templars.

There is no direct evidence as to what action was taken by the Teutonic Knights immediately after 1244 to adapt the rule of the Templars to their own needs. The oldest extant copy of the statutes of the Teutonic Knights dates from 1264; it contains, besides the rule, the calendar, the laws, the customs, the vigils, and the genuflections. Thus in the twenty years following the papal authorization of 1244 the Teutonic Knights not only changed certain paragraphs of the rule of the Templars, but also compiled new, or codified old, regulations for their order.

The chief source shedding some light on the final composition of the statutes is an undated letter containing regulations for the Prussian branch of the order, issued in Prussia by the vicemaster Eberhard of Sayn.<sup>25</sup> In this letter Eberhard refers to the rule (*ordo*), the customs (*consuetudines*), and the laws (*iudicia*) of the Teutonic Knights, so by dating Eberhard's letter we may approximately date the time

24. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 470: bull to the Teutonic Knights, February 9, 1244. Perlbach, *Statuten*, pp. xlvi–xlvii, has shown that these pertain to the rule of the Templars; see Henri de Curzon, ed., *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), pars. 12, 25, 26, 27, 53.

25. Eberhard of Sayn was grand commander of the order in the Holy Land before his departure for Prussia; see Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 100: letter of sale of John l'Aleman, lord of Caesarea, April 30, 1249. Apparently Eberhard was sent by the master to Prussia and Livonia to visit and to reorganize and supervise the order's affairs in its northern provinces. After his arrival in Prussia he issued regulations for the Prussian branch of the order in which he calls himself "Frater E. de Seyne vicem magistri . . . gerens in Prussia"; for this document see Perlbach, *Statuten*, pp. 161–162, and Ernst Hennig, ed., *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens* (Königsberg, 1806), pp. 221–224.

when these were already in existence. It is clear that Eberhard visited Prussia in 1249 after master Henry of Hohenlohe's death, for on January 1, 1250, he renewed for the Prussian branch the order's charter of privileges, which had been burned;<sup>26</sup> by 1252 he was active in Livonia. Thus it seems that by 1250 the rule, the customs, and at least a part of the laws were already in existence, and that the revision of the rule of the Templars for use by the Teutonic Knights had been undertaken during the years 1244–1249, while Henry of Hohenlohe was master and before Eberhard of Sayn arrived in Prussia. Eberhard must have taken with him a copy of these recently revised statutes, for paragraph fourteen of Eberhard's regulations states: "Every Sunday during the chapter meeting a section of the rule, of the customs, and of the laws shall be recited before the brothers."<sup>27</sup>

The statutes, as drawn up by 1264, comprise the calendar, the Easter tables, a prologue, the titles of the rule, the rule, the laws, the customs, the vigils, and the genuflections.<sup>28</sup> Thus the term "statutes" means a complex of statutory regulations for the use and observance of the brethren of the Teutonic order. They themselves called this collection the *Ordenbüch*—the "Book of the Order." It contains no indication of papal approval, nor is there any known evidence of such confirmation in the surviving fragments of the order's archives from the Holy Land or in the records of the papal chancery.<sup>29</sup> Moreover,

26. Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch, eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525* (2 vols. in 3, Göttingen, 1948–1950), II, no. 107.

27. There is no certainty as to who undertook the revision of the rule of the Templars for the use of the Teutonic Knights. Perlbach conjectures (*Statuten*, p. xlvi) that the revision was done by cardinal-bishop William of Sabina, who had for many years dealt with the affairs of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia and Livonia. Even so, the reviser did not necessarily compile the customs and the laws, for the prologue refers explicitly only to the rule (*regula*). The rest of the statutes may have been compiled at Acre by a priest or priests of the order who knew which regulations and rules taken over from other statute books were observed by the Teutonic Knights. Likewise, certain resolutions and decisions of the chapter of the order at Acre were incorporated in the laws. Since no complete record of these decisions is extant, it is difficult to determine exactly how many were worked into the statutes. For William of Sabina see Gustav A. Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena 1222–1234, päpstlicher Legat in den nordischen Ländern (d. 1251)* (Societas scientiarum Fennica, *Commentationes humanarum litterarum*, II, sect. 5; Helsingfors, 1929), and Agostino Paravicini Baglioni, *Cardinali di curia e 'Familiae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254* (Padua, 1972), I, 186–197.

28. Perlbach, *Statuten*, pp. xv–xvi. For the genuflexions (Latin, *veniae*; German, *Venien*) see *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, tr. Dom David Knowles (Medieval Classics, London, 1951), p. 24, note 2: "The phrase *veniam petere, accipere*, etc., originally used of the act of 'doing penance', came to bear the entirely neutral sense of 'genuflect'."

29. The question of the original language of the official version of the *Ordenbüch* is discussed at some length by Perlbach (*Statuten*, pp. xxix–xxx, xlvi–lxix), who believes that the prologue and the rule of the statutes were compiled in Latin. Even so, there must have existed contemporary translations into German, for chapters of the rule were to be read before the brethren of the order.

prior to the 1442 revision of the statutes there are only four known copies of the statutes in Latin, whereas from the same period there are at least twenty-five extant manuscripts in German.

The medieval chroniclers and the members of the papal court regarded the Teutonic Knights as a German order, and the express reason for founding a German hospital in Jerusalem was the German pilgrims' ignorance of languages other than German. There is no reason to believe that the German crusaders in the thirteenth century were more fluent in other tongues than the pilgrims of the twelfth century. The statutes themselves offer some insight into the literacy of the Teutonic Knights. A candidate for admission into the order was required to learn, within six months of his admission, only the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed, evidently in Latin; if he had not learned them in the first half year, he was given another six months to do so. If he had not learned them in a year, he was to leave the order, unless the master and the brethren allowed him to remain. Even this minimal requirement was too high for some brothers, for master Werner of Orseln (1324–1330) repeated this regulation in his laws, with the addition: "If the brother does not understand Latin, let him recite the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed in German."<sup>30</sup>

The Teutonic Knights regarded the statutes, as preserved in the copy of 1264, as unchangeable, for later additions to the statutes were never organically incorporated into the existing regulations, but were added as supplements, as new laws, by the ruling master, leaving unchanged the original "Book of the Order."

The more than thirty extant German manuscripts are in various dialects, for every commandery had to have its own copy of the *Ordenbüch*. Naturally, as more and more copies were made, they began to differ not only in language but also in accuracy, and various supplements were made. Therefore in 1442 the chapter of the order decided to revise the "Book of the Order" and make three master copies, one to be kept in the main house in Marienburg, another in the German master's residence in Horneck, and a third in the Livonian branch in Riga. All further copies were to be made only from these three master copies.<sup>31</sup> Thus the German version was made the official version of the statutes of the Teutonic Knights. There is again no evidence that approval was sought from the pope.

To analyze the structure and organization of the order and the functions of its various office-holders in the crusader states, the basic source

30. Perlbach, *Statuten*, p. 147.

31. For the extant manuscripts see Perlbach, *Statuten*, pp. x–xxx, lix; also Hennig, *Statuten*, pp. 29–30.

of information is the 1264 version of the "Book of the Order," as supplemented by chapter decrees before the transfer of the headquarters of the order in 1309 to Marienburg in Prussia.

In organization the closest models for the Teutonic order were the two other religious military orders, the Templars and the Hospitalers. Like the other two, the Teutonic Knights based their rule on the rule of St. Benedict. In administration, however, the Germans followed neither the more rigorously centralized Dominicans nor the loosely organized Franciscans, but the federated organization of the Cistercians. It cannot be proved that Bernard of Clairvaux introduced into the rule of the Templars the administrative pattern of the Cistercians, for no version of that rule contains such organizational details as are found in the *Carta caritatis* of the Cistercians. However, in later statutes the Templars adopted many institutions concerning organization from the Cistercians, and in turn the Teutonic Knights took over these organizational patterns from the Templars, though the organization of the Teutonic Knights was later modified by the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council. Thus the Teutonic order had, in its structural pattern, the characteristics of the religious life—the three monastic vows, the living in community, the religious exercises, the chapter and chapter meetings, and an official hierarchy—combined with other worldly knightly features.

The head of the Teutonic order was the elected master, who was "over all the others" (rule, par. 34), for "all the honor of the order and the salvation of souls and the virtue of life, and the way of justice, and the protection of discipline depend on a good shepherd and on the head of an order" (customs, par. 4). The master not only was to "rule over the house and the order" (customs, par. 6), but was also the highest judge among the brothers (rule, par. 37). Furthermore, the master was the commander-in-chief (customs, par. 24), entitled to four horses, and an extra one in war. His household was made up of a chaplain and his assistant, an Arabic scribe, a cook, and three Turcopoles, of whom one was his shield-bearer, one his messenger, and one his chamberlain, and in the field he had an extra Turcopole. On long journeys, if needed, his retinue was increased by two brother knights as companions and one brother sergeant as steward; when in the field, by two sergeants. The master was expected to reside in the Holy Land (customs, par. 12). By 1244 his headquarters was the castle of Montfort (Starkenberg); after the fall of Montfort in 1271, it was shifted to Acre.

The master was elected for life by an electoral college made up

of thirteen brothers of the order. Though not specifically stated, the master had to be a knight, and no one who was of illegitimate birth or who had been convicted of unchastity or theft could be master (customs, par. 4). The symbols of his office were the master's ring and the order's seal (customs, par. 6). He had his own standard, and special insignia on shield and surcoat (customs, par. 32).

The two greatest officials below the master, sometimes deputizing for him, were the grand commander and the marshal, each acting in his strictly prescribed field (customs, pars. 21, 22, 30). The marshal's status is clearly defined in the customs: "All the brothers who are given arms are subject to the marshal and shall be obedient to him after the master." To the marshal's office belonged everything pertaining to arms: horses, mules, weapons, tents, the saddlery, and the forge (customs, par. 19). He was the order's minister of war and the commanding general of the order's army in the absence of the master (customs, par. 24).

The marshal's counterpart in matters of administration, finance, and supply was the grand commander, originally the commander of the house at Acre. "To the office of the grand commander pertain the treasury and the grain supply, and the ships, and all the brother clerics and lay brothers and their domestics who live in the house, and the camels, pack-animals, wagons, slaves, craftsmen, the armory and all the other workshops save those under the marshal" (customs, par. 28). But "if the marshal is sent out of the province, the grand commander shall take his place in looking after the horses and all things pertaining to arms" (customs, par. 21). Furthermore, "the marshal shall have precedence, when on campaign, and shall hold the chapter if the master himself is not present or his deputy. But if the marshal is not present, then the commander shall hold the chapter." But "when they are home, then the commander by right has precedence and holds the chapter. But if the commander is not present, then the marshal shall hold it" (customs, par. 22). In short, both officials "shall take pains to be in harmony and to bear each other's burdens, so that, when one of them is not there, the other shall take his place and carry out his duties" (customs, par. 30). These regulations clearly demonstrate how well the central administration of the order was organized.

The master's most essential or intrinsic duty was representation of the order. The customs (par. 32) make this clear: "The brother who deputizes for the master may raise his standard and have carpets and the great tent and the things which he needs to do the honors for guests whom he may receive in the master's place. He shall, however,

not use the master's shield and coat of mail; also he shall not take his place at table or in church." The master's second prerogative was doing justice: "If the master or his deputy has imposed a penance on any brother, he may not be relieved . . . either by the commander or by the marshal or by any other brother without the permission of the master or his deputy" (laws, III, 4). Yet the rule (par. 35) and the laws (III, pars. 35, 36) make clear that the chapter was the actual body that decided on the punishment of a brother, and that the master administered the chapter's decision.

Like the master, the marshal and the grand commander each had his own entourage: both were chosen, and could be dismissed, jointly by the master and the chapter of the main house of Acre; thus their offices, strictly speaking, were not for life.

Various brothers might deputize for the master, but the commander and marshal had permanent deputies: the vice-commander, or "little commander," and the vice-marshal, or "under-marshal." The former was in charge of the workshops and the servants in the workshops, and of the gardens. He had to provide "camels and wagons, slaves, carpenters, masons, and other workmen, whom he shall put to work and supply with whatever they need." He had likewise to see to the proper disposal of grain and cloth arriving by ship (customs, par. 35). The exact nature of the duties of the vice-marshal or "under-marshal" (customs, par. 19) are not given, but he may have been the same person as the "master of the esquires," in charge of allocating the esquires to the brothers and of paying those serving for wages (customs, par. 39). He also gave out fodder, curry-combs, and other supplies for the horses.

To complete the central administration of the order, the master jointly with the chapter chose four more high office-holders: the hospitaler (in charge of charity), the drapier (responsible for armor and clothing), the treasurer, and the castellan of the fortress of Starkenberg (customs, par. 8). The treasury was guarded with three locks and three keys, "of which one shall be in the master's hands, another in the grand commander's hands, and the third in the treasurer's hands, so that no one of them alone may have separate access" (customs, par. 9).

The marshal had two subordinate supply officers, the brother in charge of the saddlery (customs, par. 40) and the brother in charge of the small forge. The latter repaired bits, stirrups, and spurs, and handed out the rings for hose, belly-bands, surcingles, and pack straps (customs, par. 41). The saddlery supplied all kinds of belts and straps for the brothers' arms and for harnessing the horses (customs, par. 40).

The grand commander likewise had two important subordinate supply officers, the master of victuals (customs, pars. 55 and 59) and the brother in charge of the armory (customs, par. 30). The armory (*snithūs*) was probably a shop and storeroom where crossbows, bows (customs, par. 29) and arrows, and similar weapons of wood were made and repaired. The master of victuals was in charge of food supply and distribution to the brothers (customs, pars. 55 and 59). These four supply officers of lesser rank were chosen by the master with the advice of the most discreet brothers, and had to render their accounts not to the chapter, but to the master and their respective superiors (customs, pars. 7a and 8).

This analysis of the order's hierarchy in the Holy Land shows how well the order was organized and administered, and prepared for military operations. In addition to all the regulations for horses, supplies, and equipment, we find in the customs detailed regulations for military expeditions, the chain of command, the order of battle, and other matters (customs, pars. 44, 46-51, 53-54, 61, 63).

The organization of the branches or provinces elsewhere seemingly was modeled on the main organization in the Holy Land. The head of the province was the provincial commander or master, who was appointed by the grand master with the approval of the chapter (customs, par. 8). Thus it appears that a provincial master was lower in rank than the six high office-holders in the Holy Land who were chosen jointly by the master and the chapter—the grand commander, the marshal, the hospitaller, the treasurer, the drapier, and the castellan of Starkenberg—but higher than all the rest of the office-holders in the Holy Land, who were chosen by the master with the counsel of the most discreet brothers. Once installed, the provincial master was almost independent and removable only for the gravest crimes. The master could visit a province in person (customs, par. 14), or send others as visitors (laws, II, b), but he could remove a provincial master only for grave misconduct, or, as the customs put it, if he found "any commander so infamous and vicious that he cannot be tolerated or excused." As long as a provincial commander was kept in office, the master could put no one over him (customs, par. 15).

Provincial masters were given a free hand in military activities, for the main branch in the Holy Land could neither organize nor support operations in a distant province. The rule allowed the superior, with the counsel of the wisest brothers, to decide all things in the land where the war was fought, "since the customs of the enemy in fighting and in other matters differ in different lands, and therefore it is necessary to oppose the enemy in different ways" (rule, par. 22).

This would obviously apply to provinces like Prussia and Livonia where the order had conquered much territory and was in constant combat defending it. As in the main branch, provincial office-holders were chosen by the provincial chapters and had to give account of their offices in the annual chapters (laws, II, b; customs, par. 7a).

The basic unit of the order, however, was the individual house. A major house had a convent, that is, twelve brothers, in accord with the number of Christ's disciples, and a commander (rule, par. 13). A house which did not have a convent was a minor house. According to Eberhard of Sayn's instructions of 1250, the commanders of individual houses were to be installed and dismissed with the advice of the provincial chapter (par. 4); the provincial commanders and chapters could admit new brothers to the order (par. 13); and provincial masters should have their own seals (par. 1).

An important aspect of the organization of the order is the chapter and its role in giving counsel. Many statutes emphasize that the master and the higher officers had constantly to seek the advice of the wisest brothers, singly or in chapter. The general rule was simple: in very important matters advice and consent was to be obtained from the chapter, where the opinion of the wiser part was to prevail; in less important matters, from the wisest brothers at hand; on minor matters, no advice was needed (rule, par. 27). The rule states: "Which is the wiser part in case of disagreement shall be left to the judgment of the master or his deputies; and, furthermore, piety, discretion, knowledge, and good repute shall have more weight than a mere plurality of the brothers" (par. 27).

Matters on which counsel had to be sought from the entire chapter were numerous. They included admitting new members to the order (rule, pars. 27, 29, 30; admission ritual), alienation of property (rule, par. 27; customs, par. 17), loans or gifts of 500 bezants or more (customs, par. 10), absence of the master from the Holy Land (customs, par. 12), imposition and termination of penances (laws, III, pars. 36-44), and revocation of customs (laws, III, par. 31).

Three kinds of chapters may be distinguished. First, there was a weekly chapter on Sundays (laws, II, introduction and par. f). Here the brothers in each house gathered together to listen to the reading of portions of the statutes, and some brothers were disciplined (laws, III, pars. 25, 38). Whether this chapter also discussed the business of the house, or whether this was done at another time, is not stated in the statutes. Second, there was the annual general chapter, held on September 14 in the main house and in all the provinces (customs, par. 18). By this chapter the higher office-holders in the Holy Land

and in the provinces were chosen each year, and in this chapter they surrendered their offices and rendered their accounts to the brothers (customs, pars. 7a, 18). In the annual chapter in Acre were discussed all the important matters referring to the order; each provincial chapter discussed business regarding its province. The third kind of chapter was the electoral chapter which was convened after the master's death to elect a new master (customs, pars. 2a-6).

The members of the electoral college were coöpted until thirteen were chosen—one priest, eight knights, and four other brothers. "Care shall be taken to avoid having a majority from one province." Therefore to the electoral chapter were summoned the commanders of the provinces of Prussia, the German lands, Austria, Apulia, Romania, Cilician Armenia, and Livonia, to join with the convent of the main house in the electoral proceedings and, as representatives of the new master, to carry the news home to their subordinates (customs, pars. 2a-6).

Thus the order was organized on representative principles, but "democratic" representation was not typical of the Middle Ages. A superior, seeking advice from the chapter or from the wisest brothers, in theory obtained the consent of the entire community of the brothers of a house, a province, or the brotherhood in the Holy Land. A superior's decree or a chapter's decision was binding on everyone; appeal outside the order against the laws of the order warranted a one-year penance (laws, II, d). It was the master and his council, in fact, who, as an oligarchy, ruled the order in the Holy Land.

In many respects, however, the provinces were independent. They held their own annual chapters where they elected and dismissed their own office-holders, and also elected the commanders of the individual houses. The provincial commanders and chapters admitted new members and carried out visitations of individual houses. The provincial commanders, though appointed by the master, could be dismissed only for the gravest offenses. Since conditions varied in the different provinces, the provincial commanders were given a wide discretion in conducting military operations. Unlike the Hospitallers, the provinces did not have to contribute financially to the support of the main house. But the provinces had to send an annual report to the main house (Eberhard of Sayn, par. 18), and every second or third year each province had to send a representative to the Holy Land to report on the province (Eberhard, par. 18). Every new brother admitted by the provincial chapters had to swear allegiance to the master and obedience to the chapter in the Holy Land (Eberhard, par. 13). Finally, new laws decreed by the provincial commander, with the

consent of the provincial chapter, had to be confirmed by the master and the chapter in the Holy Land (Eberhard, par. 16). Thus the Teutonic order, in the mid-thirteenth century at least, displayed certain characteristics of a centralized state, and certain aspects of a federation. In the early days, with provinces spread from Livonia to Armenia, the federative aspects probably predominated, but with the move to Marienburg in 1309, the possibilities for centralization increased.

The order's professed brothers included knights, priests and clerics, and a group of lay brothers serving in military or other capacities. Orbiting around this nucleus was a large group comprising military auxiliaries such as mercenary knights and Turcopoles, esquires, domestic servants, *halpswesteren*, and slaves. We know that the order of the Teutonic Knights was the smallest of the three military orders in the Holy Land. How many Teutonic Knights there were we do not know, but we can get some idea of the relative strength and importance of the three classes of professed brothers from the composition of the electoral college, which was made up of eight knights, one priest, and four other brothers.

Though "this order had a hospital before it had knights" (rule, par. 4), yet the brother knights dominated the order, which was "specially founded for knights fighting the enemies of the Cross and of the faith" (rule, par. 22). The order was the "Holy Knightly Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the German House" (prologue, par. 4). The brother knights were the actual electors of the master; most of the highest office-holders of the order were knights. Since the brother clerics were subordinate to the grand commander, himself a knight, the knights in the order controlled the religious life of the order, though, of course, they did not celebrate divine service.

A knight who decided to join the order had to secure a sponsor among the brothers to recommend his admission (rule, par. 29). Admission took place in full chapter, where the candidate was questioned on his marital, legal, and religious status, his health, and his financial liabilities. If no impediments to his entering the order were found, the candidate was asked to promise to care for the sick, to defend the Holy Land and the lands pertaining to it, to keep the counsel of the chapter and the master, not to leave the order without permission, and to observe the rule, the laws, and the customs. After making these promises, the candidate might choose either to enter after a one-year probation period or to be received at once. In the latter case he took the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, vow-

ing to be obedient to the master until death, and then was clothed with the habit of the order and, on the same day, participated in the sacrament of the mass (admission ritual). This was the ritual for all who entered the order, but the prospective brother knight, as a sign of his religious knighthood, was clothed in the white mantle with the cross, which had been blessed and asperged with holy water (rule, par. 29).

The distinctive features of the knight's clothing were the white mantle and the surcoat (rule, par. 11). Otherwise his clothing, as well as bedding, did not differ from that of the older brothers. Clothing consisted of linen shirts, drawers, hose, cape with the cross, and, for the knights, one or two mantles and surcoat, all with the cross. In cold climates the brothers also wore fur coats (rule, par. 11). Each slept on a bed of straw, with one sheet, coverlet, rug, and pillow (customs, par. 34). The military outfit of a knight consisted of the customary accoutrement of any secular knight, including horses, of which he might have four (customs, par. 42). However, his arms and the trappings of his horses, in contrast to those of secular knights, were not to be ornamented (rule, par. 22). Brother knights were not allowed to participate in tournaments and other knightly games, or attend worldly festivities (rule, par. 28). The chase was permitted for food and clothing (furs), but hunting with hounds and hawks was prohibited (rule, par. 23). All kissing and converse with women was strictly forbidden (rule, par. 28; laws, III, par. 36, no. 2). These latter regulations applied as well to other brothers in the order.

When the knights were commanded to prepare for combat, they had to do everything according to order: they could neither don their armor nor saddle their horses until told to do so, nor could they mount their steeds or ride out of the convent of their own accord (customs, pars. 46 and 60). Every pace of the knights' progress on the road was regulated. They had to ride in rank and file, surrounded by their esquires and trailed by the caravan of spare horses and pack-animals. While proceeding in battle array, they were not allowed to ride about or talk to each other except in an emergency; even watering of horses was restricted (customs, pars. 46-48). In the field they were under discipline as rigorous as in the convent. They had to pitch their tents, usually in a ring, to protect the horses, the arms, and the "chapel"; attend divine service day and night (customs, pars. 50-52), and continue their penances, if they were doing any (customs, par. 65). They were not even allowed to take off their armor at will (customs, par. 60), or to graze their horses, or to go far from camp without special permission (customs, pars. 52-53).

Their greatest hour came "whenever the marshal or he who carries the standard attacks the enemy" (customs, par. 61). Then the brother knights advanced to battle while their attendants (esquires) gathered round a standard, carried by a brother sergeant-at-arms, with the spare horses and spare weapons, and prayed "until God send their lords back again" (customs, par. 61). No brother knight could attack "before he who carries the standard [of the order] has attacked." After the knight joined in the attack, his next steps were left to God's dictates "in his heart," but when it seemed "opportune," he might return to the standard (customs, para. 61). The Knights Templar had detailed instructions on conduct in battle; the Teutonic Knight had only to remember: "If a brother in cowardice flees from the standard or from the army," or "goes over from the Christians to the heathen," he was committing the most serious sin, for which there was no pardon or redress; he lost the order forever (laws, III, par. 39, nos. 4, 5, and end). As a matter of fact, when a religious knight met the enemy of the faith in battle, he had only one choice, so gallantly portrayed by the poet Hartmann of Aue:

Nû zinsent, ritter, iuwer leben  
und ouch den muot  
durch in der in dâ hât gegeben  
lîp unde guot.  
.....

Wan swem daz ist beschert  
daz er dâ wol gevvert,  
daz giltet beidiu teil,  
der werlte lop, der sèle heil.<sup>32</sup>

Pope Urban II promised no more to his crusaders when he proclaimed at Clermont: "Enpurpled with your own blood, you will gain everlasting glory."

If a sick or aging brother were lucky, he could leave the Holy Land, not to go "at his own pleasure here and there, where he wishes," but to spend his last days in a convent of the order in Europe, where he could expect tender treatment (customs, par. 13). Those who, because of wounds or for other reasons, had to spend their days in the infirmary in the Holy Land were to be honored and cared for with patience (rule, par. 25). When the brave brother knight's last hour

32. "Now, oh knights, pay your tribute with your life and your courage to him who has sacrificed for you both his body and his riches. . . . For he on whom the lot has fallen to depart thither, will be rewarded two-fold: with the world's acclaim and the soul's salvation." See Hartman of Aue (d. c. 1220), "Dem kriuze zimt wol reiner mout," in Karl Bartsch and Wolfgang Golther, eds., *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts: Eine Auswahl*, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1910), pp. 86-87.

had come, he confessed and received the eucharist and extreme unction (laws, III, par. 10). If a brother died before vespers, he was to be buried at once, his body covered with a white cloth with the black cross; if he died after vespers, he was to be buried the next day after prime (rule, par. 6; laws, III, par. 20). The clothes of the deceased brother were distributed to the poor, as were the food and drink to which he was entitled, for forty days, "since alms liberate from death and shorten the punishment of the soul who has departed in grace" (rule, par. 10).

A brother knight was not, however, only a warrior; he was also a religious who, like the canons regular, had to take the three religious vows (admission ritual), live in a convent (rule, *passim*), attend mass and the canonical hours, and receive the sacrament (rule, pars. 8, 9; customs, par. 63). He was tonsured (rule, par. 12), and communications with the world outside, sending and receiving letters, and receiving visitors and gifts were restricted (rule, par. 19; laws, III, 37, no. 2; customs, pars. 38, 56, 57). His meals, if the rule was rigorously observed, were meager (rule, par. 13), his bodily strength was weakened by regular fasting (rule, par. 15), and his religious maturity was promoted, to some extent, by learning the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed (laws, II, f, e). If the lay brothers (and these included the knights) were sufficiently literate they might, with the permission of the superior, "recite with the priests the canonical hours or the hours of Our Lady with the psalms and the other things pertaining to the priestly office" (rule, par. 8).

A penal code, not the most severe but certainly the most systematic of all penal codes of the military orders in the Holy Land, was drawn up, and if rigorously applied, beyond doubt could not only have brought any sturdy knight to his knees, but also have broken his body and his devotion to the religious life. However, one may doubt whether a one-year penance was often enforced upon a brother knight who fought against the "infidels," for the Holy Land was more in need of bold, though turbulent, warriors than of religious and emaciated penitents. Even the Roman pontiffs prescribed fighting against the heathen as a penance.

"Among the members are also priests who play a worthy and useful role, for in time of peace they shine in the midst of the lay brothers, urge them to observe the rules strictly, celebrate for them divine service, and administer to them the sacraments . . . [and in war] strengthen the brothers for battle and admonish them to remember how God also suffered death for them on the Cross," states the prologue (par. 5). The clerics were not numerous and possibly possessed

little weight in running the order's business; their role was spiritual rather than administrative. "The other brothers shall honor the brother priests and provide for their needs before all others, because of the dignity of their order and office, for God is honored in them; and moreover [the brothers] shall honor them the more diligently, since they are lovers of the order and of the religious life and are gladly furthering the religious life" (laws, III, par. 2).

The role of the brother priests and clerics was to provide for and guide the religious life of the lay brothers. They officiated at the canonical hours, celebrated mass, administered the eucharist to the brothers seven times a year, and also the other sacraments (rule, par. 9), prayed for the brothers, servants, and benefactors of the order, living and dead (rule, par. 10), said grace at meals (rule, par. 13), and conducted worship in the hospital for the sick poor and in the infirmary for the brothers (rule, pars. 5 and 24; laws, III, par. 12). Moreover, the brother clerics probably taught the lay brothers the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hail Mary (laws, II, e), heard their confessions (laws, III, par. 21), read the rule and the laws to the brothers, and acted as scribes (laws, III, par. 27). The Teutonic order had a special penal code for the brother priests and brother clerics, but in general a sinful cleric was treated like a lay brother: he was tried in the chapter and received the same punishment as the lay brothers.

Like the other military orders, the membership of the Teutonic order included, besides knights and priests and clerics, "other brothers," mentioned occasionally as sergeants, or serving brothers: sergeants at arms, at office, at service, or at labor. While the three highest office-holders (customs, par. 8) and the castellan were certainly knights, and the hospitaller (rule, pars. 5, 6; customs, pars. 21, 31) and treasurer (customs, pars. 9, 16, 31, 36) probably were, the drapier may possibly have been a brother sergeant at service (customs, pars. 35, 38), as may also have been the brothers in charge of the saddlery, forge, and other workshops, and the master of victuals (customs, pars. 40, 41, 35, 55, 56). Tacked on to the admission ritual was a statement that "brothers who do not wish to practise their trade shall be kept on bread and water until they do it cheerfully." All these "other brothers" had their place in the chapter, but probably had little or no voice in the affairs of the order, though some were members of the master's council (customs, par. 9).

Assisting the professed brothers of the order was a host of individuals ranging from auxiliary knights to "slaves, if there are any in the house" (laws, III, par. 38). Highest in rank were the knights who served the order for charity; they were probably crusaders of knightly birth.

Another category of fighting men was the Turcopoles, who initially were mercenaries of Turkish origin in the Byzantine imperial army, and now and then are mentioned in crusader chronicles. William of Tyre calls them light-armed knights or cavalry,<sup>33</sup> and Raymond of Aguilers says that "Turcopoles were so named because they were either reared with Turks or were the offspring of a Christian mother and of a Turkish father."<sup>34</sup> Turcopoles fought in Alexius I Comnenus's army against the Turks and the Latins and were used also by later Byzantine emperors.<sup>35</sup>

In the crusader states separate fighting units called Turcopoles were in the employ of the military religious orders, and seemingly were recruited locally either from indigenous converts or from mixed native and Latin stock who served the crusader cause as soldiers. The statutes of the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller clearly indicate that they were second-class members of the orders, inferior to the brother knights but higher in rank than the servants.<sup>36</sup> They comprised the orders' light cavalry, and under their own commander participated in the defense of the crusader states.<sup>37</sup> The Teutonic Knights, adapting much of their organizational pattern from the two older orders, also took over the idea of such a native auxiliary force. They

33. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *RHC, Occ.*, I; tr. Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (CURC, 35; 2 vols., New York, 1943), XIX, 25, and XXII, 17.

34. Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (*RHC, Occ.*, III, 231–309); tr. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond d'Aguilers: Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, LXXI; Philadelphia, 1968), cap. 4; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae expeditionis pro erectione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae* (*RHC, Occ.*, IV, 265–713), V, 3, calls them "an impious breed, said to be Christians only by name, not deed, born of a Turkish father and a Greek mother."

35. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker (*CSHB*, XIX; 3 vols., Bonn, 1829–1855), VII, 4; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana 1095–1127*, ed. Heinrich Hagemeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); tr. Frances R. Ryan, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969), I, 8; Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana* (*RHC, Occ.*, IV, 1–111), cap. 14; Albert of Aachen, *op. cit.*, II, 12, IV, 40, V, 3; VIII, 7, 15, 22, 46; Raymond of Aguilers, *op. cit.*, cap. 4; [Anonymi] *Gesta Francorum at aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and tr. Rosalind Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Medieval Texts; London, 1962), pp. 6, 9, 16; Ambrose, "The History of the Holy War," in *Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades*, tr. Edward N. Stone (University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, X; Seattle, 1939), caps. 10, 55.

36. Two brother knights were entitled to as much meat as three Turcopoles, and two Turcopoles to as much as three servants (Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, par. 153; see also pars. 370 and 375); the Turcopoles did not eat together with brother knights, but sat at their own table; only those brother knights had to sit with the Turcopoles who were doing penance in full garment (*ibid.*, par. 271; Delaville Le Roux, *Cartulaire*, no. 1193, par. 10).

37. Curzon, *La Règle*, pars. 169–171; Delaville Le Roux, *Cartulaire*, no. 4612, par. 5.

were organized into a special unit with its own commander, the turcoplier, who in turn was under the command of the marshal; he was also the commander of the brother sergeants-at-arms, with his own standard. Turcopoles were assigned to the master's household: one as shield-bearer, another as messenger, and a third as chamberlain; and on campaign, a fourth (customs, par. 11); the marshal's standard-bearer also was a Turcopole (customs, par. 19). The grand commander likewise had one Turcopole at home and a second in the field (customs, par. 29).

As light-armed soldiers the Turcopoles and the sergeants-at-arms in battle array rode either in the van or in the rear. There is no information as to the number or deeds of the Turcopoles who were in the service of the Teutonic Knights. After the expulsion from Acre in 1291 the order temporarily established its headquarters in Venice. In 1292 a general chapter was held in Frankfurt, where the master, Conrad of Feuchtwangen, decreed supplemental laws about Turcopoles and sergeants-at-arms.<sup>38</sup> However, by then the institution of Turcopoles in the Teutonic order had lost its meaning, for in the conquered territories of Prussia and Livonia the Teutonic Knights did not admit the natives to the ranks of the order. In these countries, in case of war, the order's light cavalry was supplied by the order's German vassals, and the conquered native peasantry gradually became serfs and were often forced to accompany the order's army as footsoldiers and in the supply train. The term "Turcopoles" disappears from documents after the fourteenth century.

Another segment of the order's membership was the squires. Like secular knights, each of the brother knights had attendants (*knechte*) (rule, par. 22) or squires, who were under the master of the squires (*meister der schiltknechte*), who received them into service, allocated them to the brother knights, and determined their pay, if they were not serving for charity; once a week he held a chapter with these attendants (customs, par. 39). When the brother knights rode in battle array, these attendants naturally accompanied them (customs, par. 46), but ordinarily did not participate in battle; instead they rallied round the standard behind the lines, and were expected to pray for the safe return of their lords (customs, par. 61). Since the same word, *knechte*, is used in the "Book of the Order" for squires and for domestic servants, it is sometimes hard to determine which are referred to.

The *halpswesteren* or sister-aids provided for in the rule certainly were domestics. They were "not admitted in full service and fellow-

38. Perlbach, *Statuten*, pp. 141-143.

ship" but were introduced because there were "some services for the sick . . . and also for livestock which are better performed by women than by men" (rule, par. 31); they may also have worked in the laundry (customs, par. 34). They lived in separate quarters from the men. By the latter half of the thirteenth century, there were also *halpbrüderen*,<sup>39</sup> who were used to graze and tend the cattle, to cultivate and till the fields, and to do other kinds of work according to the commander's wishes and the needs of the house. They received food and clothes from the order. Their outer garment was a short mantle (*schaprun*) "of religious hue" with wide arms, but without the full cross. Their shoes were three or four finger-widths higher than those of the brother knights, and they were required to cut their beards and hair in line with their ears. They had to learn the Creed and to fast like the professed brothers, but their punishments for offenses in certain cases were lighter. When they applied for admission to the order, they were asked the same questions as the full brothers, but they were not asked to do a year's probation. Both the *halpbrüderen* and the *halpswesteren* had to take the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience (laws of Burkhard, par. 1; supplementary laws, 1264–1269, first collection, par. 5).

The order also received lay people, married or single, as domestics, "who submit their bodies and property to the direction of the brothers." If one of the married domestics died, half of the estate fell to the order, the other half "to the survivor until his death; and after his death the entire estate falls to the use of the order." Married or single, they had to lead an honest life and were not to pursue illicit trade. They also, like the *halpbrüderen* and *halpswesteren*, wore garments "of religious hue, and without the full cross" (rule, par. 34).

In addition to all these servants, whether called *halpbrüderen*, *halpswesteren*, *heimliche*, *knechte*, *gesinde*, or *pflegere* (in the hospitals and infirmaries), there were other servants: artisans and laborers who worked for charity or for wages. Gardeners, carpenters, masons, and other workmen were under the command of the vice-commander (customs, par. 35).

At the bottom of the scale were the people perpetually bound to the order, the serfs and the slaves. The rule (par. 2) allowed the order to "possess in perpetual right people, men and women, serfs, male and female." These serfs, probably donated along with lands to the order, may have worked directly for the brothers. Slaves were prob-

39. See later supplements to the "Book of the Order": two collections of laws from the Holy Land (decreed between 1264 and 1269), and the laws of Burkhard of Schwanden (1289), ed. Perlbach, *Statuten*, pp. 136–139.

ably to be distinguished from them. The laws (III, par. 38) decree that a brother doing a one-year penance "shall remain with the slaves, if there are any in the house." The slaves "pertained" to the office of the grand commander, and the vice-commander had to provide the slaves (customs, pars. 28, 35). The statutes do not describe more closely this group of unfree people, nor state how they were acquired. In Prussia and Livonia slaves were the heathen prisoners-of-war or persons who had committed crimes and, unable to pay heavy compensation, had to pawn their own bodies to save their lives.

The measure of drink is an index to the relative rank of these people in or serving the order. A brother was entitled to two quarts of drink a day, a Turcopole to a quart and a half, and a *knehte* to a quart (customs, par. 58).

The statutes of the order also regulated the care of the sick brothers. They were entitled to special attention in the infirmary according to their needs and the resources of the house; they had to be treated honorably and with patience (rule, par. 24; customs, par. 55); they were allowed to go barefoot (laws, I, par. a) and sleep on featherbeds, mattresses, or felt (laws, I, par. p). Whenever a brother, even a high office-holder, except the master, became sick, he was allowed to have three meals daily in his bed; but no meat, eggs, cheese, fish, or wine (laws, III, par. 10).

During the first half of the thirteenth century, when the statutes of the Teutonic Knights were compiled, the most celebrated center of medical learning in the west was the medical school of Salerno in southern Italy. There is no question that the fame of its physicians was well known to the Teutonic Knights, for their most renowned master, Hermann of Salza, sought a cure for his illness in Salerno in 1238. It is likely that medical knowledge among the crusaders and in the military religious orders in the Holy Land was based mainly on the teachings and practice at the medical school there.

Our best information about the application of medical learning at Salerno is derived from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, an anonymous twelfth-century verse compendium, probably by several authors,<sup>40</sup> on diet, hygiene, treatment of diseases, and medical practices. To supplement our scanty knowledge about the curing of the sick by the Teutonic Knights, on the assumption that they followed the medical practices of the west,<sup>41</sup> one can compare the various pro-

40. For the authorship of the *Regimen* see George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (3 vols. in 5, Baltimore, 1927-1948), II-1, 434; II-2, 894.

41. A late-fourteenth-century MS. of 152 folios which among other texts contains a Latin

visions of the statutes of the Teutonic Knights with the *Regimen*. The *Regimen* gives the following advice on meals for the sick: "All pears and apples, peaches, milk and cheese, salt meats, red deer, hare, beef, and goat, all these are foods that breed ill blood and melancholy; if sick you be, to feed on them were folly" (p. 80).<sup>42</sup> About cheese it adds: "For healthy men cheese may be wholesome food, but for the weak and sickly it is not good" (p. 97). However, eggs, fish, and wine were recommended for the healthy, and not forbidden to the sick.

If a brother knight's illness worsened, he had to go to the infirmary which was set up at every house of the order and was looked after by a warden. In the infirmary the sick first confessed and received the eucharist and, in case of emergency, extreme unction (laws, III, par. 10). The grand commander was in charge of supplies for the infirmary, including the provision of a physician, if one could conveniently be secured (rule, par. 24; laws, III, par. 11). The physician was admonished to pay equal attention to all brothers in the infirmary.

No direct information about drugs and medical treatment in the infirmary has survived, but it seems that, besides improved food and blood-letting, spicy herbs, syrups, and electuaries were the basic cures. The use of syrups (sticky liquids of fruit and vegetable juices cooked with sugar), electuaries (pasty masses of honey or sugar and drugs), and spices was forbidden to the brothers without permission, as these remedies were reserved, as was common in the Middle Ages, for the sick. Wine, mixed with spices, was regarded as good medicine for all ills, and its use was recommended in the *Regimen*, particularly during the winter (p. 130). To the Teutonic Knights, as to religious in general, the making<sup>43</sup> and consuming of spiced wine (German *lütertrank*, Latin *pigmentum*)<sup>44</sup> was forbidden (laws, I, par. o). Sugar for making syrups certainly was used by the Teutonic Knights, for al-

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version of the statutes from 1398 also includes two treatises, one entitled *Regimen sanitatis*, and another on diet; see A. J. H. Steffenhagen, ed., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae et universitatis Regiomontanae* (Königsberg, 1867–1872), II, no. 284. This MS. was written in Prussia, and is in the possession of the University Library, Toruń, Poland. For the order's medical work in Prussia see Christian Probst, *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Medizinalwesen in Preussen* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, XXIX; Bad Godesberg, 1969).

42. Quotations from the 1609 tr. of Sir John Harington, *The School of Salernum*, ed. Hoeber; the spelling is modernized.

43. Probably to such practices could be traced the origins of liqueur-making by the religious houses.

44. Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. G. A. L. Henschel (7 vols., Paris, 1840–1850), *sub verbis* "pigmentum" and "species"; and Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, 24th ed. (Leipzig, 1944): s.v. "lutertranc — über kräuter und gewürze abgeklärter rotwein."

ready in February 1198 (before the German hospital in Acre was transformed into an order) the hospital received sugar for the needs of the sick.<sup>45</sup> Comparing the described spices, syrups, and electuaries with corresponding medicine used by Moslem physicians in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, as described in *The Medical Formulary of as-Samarqandī* (d. 1222/3), one notices a close similarity between the drugs administered at Salerno and by Arab physicians.<sup>46</sup> Likewise vinegar was a common remedy among Arab physicians.

Another way of improving the health of a sick brother of the Teutonic Knights was bathing: only the sick in the infirmary were allowed to bathe;<sup>47</sup> all others had to obtain the permission of their superior (laws, III, par. 11). The Salernitan *Regimen* recommends bathing in the spring, advises one to keep warm after a bath, and adds: "Wine, women, bath, by art or nature warm, used or abused do much good or harm" (p. 84; cf. p. 124). As-Samarqandi's *Formulary* contains a brief chapter on aromatic bathing, recommending it as a therapeutic exercise.

The statutes of the Teutonic Knights contain long and detailed regulations about fasting.<sup>48</sup> Although the idea of fasting was based on biblical rules, it was undoubtedly also regarded as a form of dieting, to keep the human body in good health. The *Regimen* is very explicit about the benefits of diet and fasting: "To keep good diet, you should never eat until you find your stomach clean and void" (p. 80). Fasting was recommended in every season, but particularly in the summer: it keeps the body dry, and is a remedy for vomiting and dysentery (p. 128). For the sick in the infirmary the statutes of the Teutonic Knights ordered improved food according to the means of the house, but at least one dish more than for the brothers at the convent table. However, beef, salt meat, salt fish, salt cheese, lentils, unpeeled beans, and other "unhealthy" foods were not allowed in the infirmary (laws, III, par. 8). About the use of salt the *Regimen* says: "Salt makes unsavory viands edible; to drive some poisons out, salt has ability, yet things too salt are never recommendable: they hurt the sight, in nature cause debility, the scab and itch on them are ever breeding, the which on meats too salt are often feeding" (p. 107). Beans and lentils,

45. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 34: letter of sale of Aimery, king of Jerusalem, February 8, 1198.

46. *Op. cit., passim*; particularly chap. 1, "Syrups and robs," and chap. 2, "Stomachic confections and electuaries." For a general survey of Arab influence on European medicine see Heinrich Schipperger, *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter* (Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, Beiheft 3; Wiesbaden, 1964).

47. Perlbach, *Statuten*, p. 134: "Capitelbeschlüsse vor 1264," I, par. 4.

48. Perlbach, *Statuten*, "Die Regel," pars. 13 and 15.

according to the *Regimen*, spoil eyesight (p. 124); about peas the *Regimen* comments: "In peas good qualities and bad are tried, to take them with the skin that grows aloft, they windy be, but good without the hide" (p. 96).

Those members of the Teutonic order who were wounded, or who had contracted dysentery or some other illness which might disturb the comfort of the brothers, slept apart from others in the infirmary (laws, III, par. 13), and brothers suffering from quartan fever (malaria) were, with the master's permission, given meat three days a week during the fast period before Advent and Christmas; they were also exempt from attending divine service (laws, III, par. 14). To those who suffered from dysentery the *Regimen* advised fasting and goose meat (p. 48; cf. p. 98); of malaria, called ague, the Salerno physicians said that it is bred by long sleep after noon, and recommended as a cure butter (but not milk) (p. 97), white pepper, purging, and blood-letting (pp. 97, 122, 130). For fever as-Samarqandi recommended cress powder and lohochs, syrups, and lozenges, "but the keynote in treating fevers is the opening of blockages which cause putrefaction of humor." For this process violets, plums, apricots, tamarisks, jujubes, the root and seed of endive, rhubarb, agrimony, and cuscuta could be used.<sup>49</sup>

Blood-letting (phlebotomy) was recommended by the Salerno doctors as a cure for malaria. It was also practised by the Teutonic Knights, for the laws clearly state that blood-letting can be administered to the sick in the infirmary only with the permission of the head of the infirmary (laws, III, par. 12). Blood-letting was considered a universal remedy for all maladies, and the *Regimen* offers detailed information about its alleged salutary effect; a person's age and strength, the quantity of blood let (venesected), and the season of the year were to be taken into consideration. Neither drunkards nor persons recovering from long sickness nor the too young or too old were fit for venesection (p. 150). The incision for bleeding should be made neither too long nor too deep, so that sinews were not touched but there was a sufficient cut for speedy escape of the blood (p. 154). In the spring and summer one should be bled in the right arm, in fall and winter in the left arm; in the spring blood can be let twice as much as in the fall (p. 155). For six hours after bleeding sleep and exposure to moist and unwholesome air had to be avoided; consumption of cold meats, spirits, milk, and meals made with milk had to be postponed for a similar period (p. 154). Moderate food of light meats was recommended, as well as gentle physical exercise (p. 153).

49. As-Samarqandi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

The presumed benefits of blood-letting were many: the pensive were cheered; "the raging furies bred by burning love" were removed (p. 153); the spirit and senses were renewed; the brain was cleansed; the eyes were relieved; appetite was improved; sleep was restored; voice, touch, smell, taste, and hearing were mended; the marrow was given heat (p. 148); and to the spleen, breast, and entrails exceeding help was lent (p. 156). Spring and summer bleeding mended the heart and liver; fall and winter venesection, the hand and the foot (p. 156). The Moslem Syrian memoirist Usāmah says that blood-letting was widely practised by Moslem physicians to cure sickness, and Usāmah himself recommended phlebotomy even after heavy bleeding from wounds.<sup>50</sup> He also believed that bleeding in the forehead could cure inflammation of the eye.

Surgery, if one believes Usāmah, was more advanced among the Moslems than among their western contemporaries,<sup>51</sup> though considered to be on a lower level than medicine among both the Latins and the Arabs, and surgeons were regarded as less respectable medical practitioners than physicians. In fact, surgery was approved neither by the Moslem nor by the Christian faith, because of the prohibition in the Koran and the Bible against spilling human blood, and because of the insult to the human body, which was created by God in his own likeness.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Innocent III in the Fourth Lateran Council had forbidden subdeacons, deacons, and priests to participate in surgery if cutting and burning were performed.<sup>53</sup>

The Teutonic Knights cared not only for their sick brothers but also for the laity. The rule of the order contains regulations for establishing, operating, and financing hospitals. "Because this order," the rule states (par. 4), "had a hospital before it had knights, as appears clearly from its name, for it is called the hospital, so we decree that in the main house, or where the master with the counsel of the chapter decides, there will be a hospital at all times, but elsewhere, if someone wishes to give an established hospital with funds to the house, the provincial commander with the counsel of the wisest brothers may accept or refuse. In other houses of this order, where there is no hospital, none shall be established without special command of the master with the counsel of the wiser brothers." Thus hospitals were estab-

50. Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh, tr. Hitti, p. 59.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 193.

52. Benjamin L. Gordon, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine* (New York, 1959), *passim*; particularly chap. 21, "The Chirurgeon and the Barber Surgeon."

53. Canon XVIII of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, in Mansi, *Concilia*, XXII, col. 1007: *nec illam chirurgiae partem subdiaconus, diaconus, vel sacerdos exerceant, quae ad unctionem vel incisionem inducit.*

lished for the care of sick lay people; the sick brothers of the order were admitted to the infirmary.

Admission to the hospital was very similar to admission to the infirmary. After a sick layman had arrived at the hospital, but before he was put to bed, he had to confess and receive the eucharist, and he had to hand his possessions (if he had brought any with him) over to the brother in charge of the hospital in exchange for a written receipt (rule, par. 5). The hospitaller then decided about the needs of the sick person and entrusted the patient to the care of the warden, the actual administrator of the hospital, and of physicians and attendants. Again, emphasis was put on loving care, improved food, and spiritual needs: on Sundays the epistles and the gospels were read, the sick were asperged with holy water, and the healthy brothers had to walk in procession before the sick; at night a light had to be kept burning in the hospital (rule, par. 6).

The compiler of the rule of the Teutonic Knights was zealous in following the decrees of Innocent III.<sup>54</sup> The sick in the hospital were given food in charity before the brothers of the order had had their meal, and every care was to be taken to supply all the necessities for the welfare of the sick (rule, par. 6).

The hospital was not only a place where the sick were given medical treatment and spiritual care, but also an asylum for the aged and the infirm. About the organization and the medical care in the hospital the statutes of the Teutonic Knights are silent, but it can be assumed that treatment in the hospital was similar to the care of the sick brothers in the infirmary. The rule provided for the admission of sister-aids as members of the order, "since there are some services for the sick in the hospital . . . which are better performed by women than by men." However, "they shall be received only with the permission of the provincial commander, and, after they are received, they shall be housed apart from the quarters of the brothers, for the chastity of professed brothers, who dwell with women, although a light is kept on, still is not safe, and may not last long without scandal" (rule, par. 31).

Some light may be shed on the German medical work in the crusader states by the regulations of the Hospitallers, for the Teutonic Knights followed the rule of the Knights Hospitaller in regard to the care of the sick. In 1181 the hospital of St. John in Jerusalem was ordered to employ four physicians who knew how to examine urine,

54. *Ibid.*, cols. 1010, 1011.

diagnose disease, and administer appropriate remedies. Provisioning was organized by fixing the deliveries from the subordinate houses: 200 cotton sheets to be sent to Jerusalem yearly, 4,000 ells of fustian, 2,000 ells of cotton cloth for coverlets, and 4 quintals of sugar for making syrups and medicine for the sick. The sick were to be given fresh meat, pork, mutton, or chicken three days a week, also comfortable beds, long enough and wide enough, each with its own sheets, and also each was to have a fur cloak and boots for going to the latrines; abandoned children were to be received and fed in the hospital, and cradles were to be made for babies born to women pilgrims; the almoner was to give twelve pennies to prisoners when they were released from jail, and the convent was to feed thirty poor persons every day at the convent table. The rule of the Teutonic Knights (pars. 4-7) includes regulations for the hospital, evidently taken over from the Hospitallers, but the laws and the customs include no further regulations. Thus, though the German house started as a foundation to care for the sick poor, by about 1244 such care seemingly played a decreasing role in the activities of the Teutonic Knights.

John of Würzburg, who visited Jerusalem about 1170, has left a brief description of the hospital of the order of St. John. The hospital was annexed to their church of John the Baptist; it occupied several rooms, and there were housed about two thousand people, both men and women, who were "tended and restored to health daily at a very great expense." John also admits that the mortality in the hospital was rather high: "in the course of one day and night more than fifty are carried out dead, while many other fresh ones keep continually arriving." The Hospitallers also supported with victuals many more poor people who did not live in the hospital.<sup>55</sup> Another traveler from Germany, Theoderic, who visited Jerusalem at about the same time as John, or perhaps a few years later, mentioned that the hospital of the Knights of St. John was a beautiful building abundantly "supplied with rooms and beds and other material for the use of poor and sick people"; according to his estimate there were more than one

55. John of Würzburg, tr. Stewart, in *PPTS*, V-2, 44. For a general account of the hospitals of the Knights Hospitaller see Edgar E. Hume, *Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem* (Baltimore, 1940), and Jesko von Steynitz, *Mittelalterliche Hospitaler der Orden und Städte als Einrichtungen des sozialen Sicherung* (Sozialpolitische Schriften, XXVI: Berlin, 1970).

thousand beds in the hospital.<sup>56</sup> Naturally, the hospitals of the Teutonic Knights at Acre and at Montfort were much smaller; there is also no evidence that the provinces of the Teutonic order had to deliver supplies to the hospitals in the Holy Land.

The most famous of Moslem hospitals in the thirteenth century, called the great hospital of al-Mansur (Kalavun), was founded in Cairo in 1284. It was open to all the sick, rich as well as poor; it contained wards for both men and women; and the sick were cared for by male and female attendants, like the sick in the hospital of the Teutonic Knights. The Cairo hospital had four different wards: one for blood-letting, one for surgery, another for sufferers from fevers (probably malaria), and the fourth ward for dysentery and kindred ailments.<sup>57</sup> There was thus some resemblance to the arrangement in the infirmary and hospital of the Teutonic Knights.

For running hospitals, supporting their own members, and defending the Holy Land, the Teutonic Knights certainly needed material wealth: funds, bequests, and regular income. To support their work, the Teutonic order in Acre was richly endowed with alms of all kinds. As early as the siege of Acre in September 1190, soon after the founding of the German field hospital, the king of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, donated to the hospital a house within the walls of the city, at the gate of St. Nicholas, and another place for building a permanent hospital, as well as four acres (*carrucatae*) of land near Acre.<sup>58</sup> After the capture of the city in July 1191, the brothers of the hospital bought a garden adjacent to the house, and built there their residence, a hospital, and a chapel;<sup>59</sup> in February 1192 king Guy confirmed an earlier donation and the new acquisitions and buildings. The hospital already housed the sick.<sup>60</sup> In 1193 Henry II, the ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem and count-palatine of Troyes, donated to the brotherhood of the German hospital a manor (*casale*), Cafresi, in the district of Acre, and a rampart (*barbacana*) at the gate of St. Nicholas, together with towers and walls, a moat, and a vault at the town wall,

56. Theoderic, "Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places," tr. Stewart (in *PPTS*, V-4), p. 22.

57. Edward G. Brown, *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge, Eng., 1921), pp. 101-102; Edward T. Wittenberg, *Medical History from the Earliest Times: A Popular History of the Healing Art* (London, 1964), p. 166.

58. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 25: letter of grant to the German hospital outside Acre, mid-September, 1190.

59. *Narracio*, I, 222.

60. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 27: letter of grant of king Guy to the German hospital in Acre, February 10, 1192.

on condition that the brothers repair the rampart as required for the defense of the city,<sup>61</sup> so with this bequest the brothers of the German hospital in Acre were entrusted with their first military task.

In April 1195 Henry II presented to the hospital a house in Tyre and two acres of land at Sedinum, north of Tyre.<sup>62</sup> In the following year Henry II gave as a present to the hospital land in Jaffa and a vineyard outside the city.<sup>63</sup> All these possessions were confirmed to the hospital on December 21, 1196, by pope Celestine III.<sup>64</sup> In February 1198 Aimery of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus, sold to the German hospital a manor called Aguille in the district of Acre, together with its *villani* and *gastini*.<sup>65</sup> Thus the German hospital in Acre possessed landed property in and around the city before it was transformed into a military religious order.

Acre, the main crusader city after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, also remained the headquarters and the center of activities of the Teutonic Knights. Acquisitions of new possessions continued after the official founding of the order in 1198: more houses, gardens, plots of land, and other buildings were acquired, mostly by purchase, in Acre and in the nearby towns north of Acre,<sup>66</sup> and in Tyre,<sup>67</sup> Sidon,<sup>68</sup> Tripoli,<sup>69</sup> and Antioch,<sup>70</sup> as well as south of Acre in Caesarea,<sup>71</sup> Jaffa,<sup>72</sup> Ramla,<sup>73</sup> and Ascalon,<sup>74</sup> and in many other locations, for the most part unidentifiable.<sup>75</sup> In April 1229, after Frederick II had negotiated

61. *Ibid.*, nos. 28, 29: letters of grant of Henry II, count-palatine of Troyes, to the German hospital in Acre, 1193; cf. no. 128, pp. 121–122: a register of the possessions of the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land.

62. *Ibid.*, no. 31: same. Prutz, *Besitzungen*, p. 16, identifies Sedinum with "Shadinah," northeast of Tyre.

63. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 32: same, March 1196.

64. *Ibid.*, no. 296.

65. *Ibid.*, no. 34: letter of grant to the German hospital in Acre.

66. *Ibid.*, nos. 41, 42, 50, 53, 65, 70, 76, 92, 104, 113: letters of various lords to the Teutonic Knights, dating from 1206 to 1257; cf. no. 128, pp. 123–126.

67. *Ibid.*, nos. 36, 45, 56, 57: same, from 1200 to 1222; cf. no. 128, pp. 123–124.

68. *Ibid.*, no. 62: letter of grant of Balian, lord of Sidon, to the Teutonic Knights, February 11, 1228; cf. no. 128, p. 126.

69. *Ibid.*, no. 44: letter of grant of Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch, September 4, 1209; cf. no. 128, p. 126.

70. *Ibid.*, no. 61: same, January 1228; cf. no. 128, p. 126.

71. *Ibid.*, no. 40: letter of grant of Juliana, wife of Aymar of Laison, lord of Caesarea, to the Teutonic Knights, February 1206; cf. no. 128, p. 123.

72. *Ibid.*, no. 128, p. 122.

73. *Ibid.*, no. 303, p. 272: bull of Honorius III, December 8, 1216.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*, no. 128, pp. 120–121.

the transfer of Jerusalem to the Christians, he gave to the Teutonic order the former house of the Germans in Jerusalem. In addition, he gave them a house which once had belonged to king Baldwin, located in the Armenian Street near the church of St. Thomas, as well as a garden and six acres of land.<sup>76</sup> However, the Teutonic Knights did not move their seat from Acre to Jerusalem, as they seemingly had wished to do in 1198; they retained their headquarters in Acre, but built a new residence for the master at Montfort. After the Moslem recapture of Jerusalem in 1244, the Teutonic Knights again lost their possessions in the holy city, never to regain them.

It seems, however, that economically more important and profitable to the Teutonic Knights than their possessions in cities were the landed estates in the country, because from these holdings the order not only obtained part of the victuals and income for the support of the brothers, but frequently also established there convents or houses, and eventually built fortresses, thus contributing their share to the defense of the crusader states.

The first landed estates were obtained by Germans before the official founding of the order. Further donations and purchases of estates were for the most part located in three districts: around Acre, near Tyre, and between Sidon and Beirut. These last possessions, north-east of Sidon, were acquired by the order partly as donations, partly as purchases between 1257 and 1261 from the lord of Sidon, Julian Grenier, and were made up of a large land complex, called Souf or Schuf, which contained about one hundred manors; as part payment the order gave Julian of Sidon 23,000 crusader bezants.<sup>77</sup> In 1258 the order bought a manor from John de la Tour, the constable of Sidon, and from John of Schuf two more manors. In 1261 the order bought from Andrew of Schuf a fief called Schuf, which was made up of several manors;<sup>78</sup> all these possessions were located between Sidon and Beirut. In addition to all this, Julian Grenier of Sidon in 1257 donated to the order a fortress called the Cave of Tyron,<sup>79</sup> located about twelve miles east of Sidon. However, all these possessions were

76. *Ibid.*, no. 69: letter of confirmation of rights of Frederick II, April 1229. Prutz, *Die Besitzungen*, says that the king was Baldwin I.

77. *Ibid.*, nos. 108, 109, 111: letters of grant from January 1257; and no. 117: letter of grant from March 1261.

78. *Ibid.*, nos. 114, 115, 118: letters of confirmation of rights of Julian, lord of Sidon, March 20 and June 11, 1258, and March 1261.

79. *Ibid.*, no. 110: letter of grant of Julian, January 4, 1257.

lost to the Moslems in May 1263 after the victory of Baybars at Sidon. In the vicinity of Tyre the order held two acres of land at Sedium from 1195 on, and later acquired more land and a house outside Tyre.

The order, however, possessed by far its greatest complex of landed estates in the region of Acre. It inherited from the German hospital in Acre two manors and two acres of land. Then, again partly from donations, partly by purchase, the order in 1200 acquired cultivated and unoccupied land, such as two manors north of Acre,<sup>80</sup> and in 1220 a complex of fiefs, again north of Acre, made up of forty-six manors.<sup>81</sup> In 1228 the order acquired another complex of fiefs, made up of fifteen manors and two parcels of wasteland; this complex of lands also included an old fortress called Montfort.<sup>82</sup> Northeast of this, in the vicinity of Toron and Chastel-Neuf, eight more manors were restored to the order in 1229.<sup>83</sup> The acquisition of land continued until 1261, when the order obtained from John II of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, three more manors north of Acre.<sup>84</sup> It seems that after this acquisition in 1261, the order acquired no more rural land; the last traceable acquisition was a house in Acre in 1273.<sup>85</sup> Besides all these mentioned localities, the order possessed many unspecified and, for the most part, unidentifiable parcels of land; it also possessed property in Cilician Armenia and Cyprus.<sup>86</sup> Of great significance were the order's possessions in Europe,<sup>87</sup> especially after the fall of Acre in 1291.

Little is known about the nature and exploitation of the order's landed estates, but a manor (*casale*) normally contained cultivated and unoccupied land (*gastina*), peasant families, mountains, valleys, plains, woods, waters, and pastures.<sup>88</sup> The manor was worked and

80. *Ibid.*, no. 38: letter of sale of Aimery, king of Jerusalem, October 1200.

81. *Ibid.*, nos. 53, 54, 58: letters of confirmation of rights of John of Brienne, regent of Jerusalem, Honorius III, and Frederick II, May and October 1220, and January 1226.

82. *Ibid.*, no. 63: letter of exchange of land of James of Amigdala, April 20, 1228; and no. 65: the emperor's confirmation of the exchange, April 1229.

83. *Ibid.*, no. 66: letter of restitution of rights, April 1229.

84. *Ibid.*, nos. 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87, 90, 100, 119, 121: letters of various lords to the Teutonic Knights, October 1230 to November 1261; cf. no. 128.

85. *Ibid.*, no. 126: agreement between the Teutonic Knights and the Dominicans in Acre, August 11, 1273.

86. *Ibid.*, nos. 46, 71, 83: letters of the kings of Armenia and Cyprus to the Teutonic Knights, April 1212, June 1229, and January 1236; cf. no. 128, pp. 126-127.

87. *Ibid.*, no. 128, pp. 127-128.

88. *Ibid.*, no. 77: letter of sale of Isabel of Bethsan and her husband Bertrand Porcelet, 1234; and no. 78: confirmation of the sale by Richard Filangieri, imperial bailie at Tyre. The description of the appurtenances of this manor is very similar to the usual description of manors in feudal charters.

tilled by local native peasants who were obliged to deliver to the order as dues in kind part of their produce: wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat, millet, chickpeas, lentils, beans, peas, figs, fruit from orchards, wine, oil, sugar, salt, honey, wax, cattle, sheep, goats, hens, eggs, cheese, and vegetables.<sup>89</sup> All these victuals are mentioned in the statutes of the order as needed for their table and in the infirmary (rule, par. 13; laws, III, par. 8). The order also could make use of its wooded hills to provide its own firewood and stakes.<sup>90</sup> Thus the Teutonic order in the Holy Land was not only a fighting force and a charitable organization but also a landlord, deeply involved in the economic exploitation of its landed possessions.

Moreover, besides being exempted from paying tolls, dues, and taxes and from offering obedience,<sup>91</sup> the order was allowed to levy its own dues, such as gate toll, chancery dues, measure dues,<sup>92</sup> the tithe,<sup>93</sup> and alms collection.<sup>94</sup> Raymond Rousen, lord of Antioch, in March 1219 granted the Teutonic Knights the right of free commerce in his principality,<sup>95</sup> and Bohemond IV, who succeeded Raymond in June 1228, donated to the order one hundred crusader bezants of income yearly from his share of the tolls at Acre.<sup>96</sup> Emperor Frederick II in April 1229 conceded to the Teutonic Knights 6,400 crusader bezants of annual income from the tolls at Acre,<sup>97</sup> and in July 1244

89. *Ibid.*, no. 112, pp. 92-93: agreement between the Teutonic Knights and Florent, archbishop of Acre, September 1257.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

91. *Ibid.*, no. 30: in 1194 Henry II of Champagne exempted the German hospital at Acre, like the Knights Hospitaller and Knights Templar, from paying tolls in his kingdom on all victuals and garments purchased for their own use. The Teutonic Knights interpreted this privilege as a free trade license in the kingdom of Jerusalem; see no. 128; p. 125: "De libertate vendendi et emendi." No. 303, p. 273: in 1216 Honorius III forbade secular and ecclesiastical lords to request from the Teutonic Knights any oath of allegiance, homage, or oath of obedience, as well as other assurances demanded from secular persons. No. 305: in 1218 Honorius III reserved to himself the right to excommunicate the Teutonic order; see also no. 405. No. 306, pp. 277-278: in 1220 Honorius exempted the Teutonic Knights from episcopal jurisdiction. No. 319: in 1221 Honorius forbade the extortion of the tithe from those possessions of the Teutonic Knights which they themselves cultivated.

92. *Ibid.*, no. 112, p. 92.

93. *Ibid.*, no. 306, p. 277.

94. *Ibid.*, nos. 312, 314, 315, 331, 341, 367: bulls of Honorius III to the Teutonic Knights, January 15, 1221, to February 20, 1222.

95. *Ibid.*, no. 51: privilege to the Teutonic Knights.

96. *Ibid.*, no. 64: letter of grant; cf. no. 128, p. 125.

97. *Ibid.*, no. 68: privilege to the Teutonic Knights; cf. no. 128, p. 125. This amount of money was spent on the purchase of the complex of fiefs called Trefile, which included the fortress Montfort.

from James of Amigdala the order received 7,000 crusader bezants of yearly income from the harbor of Acre;<sup>98</sup> thus the order's income from tolls at Acre alone totaled some 13,400 crusader bezants yearly. Counting four grams of gold to a bezant, it comes to nearly 54 kilograms or 118 pounds of gold as annual income.<sup>99</sup>

Because of lack of information no one will ever know the economic value of the order's possessions and enterprises in the crusader states. However, the German historian Hans Prutz has imaginatively interpreted very limited information about the tithe the order paid to the bishops of Acre from the income of its lands and possessions in the diocese of Acre, which was under the order's own management.<sup>100</sup> According to the order's own estimate the tithe, for an uncertain period of time, was 24,000 crusader bezants.<sup>101</sup> Thus the full value of the income from the villages, manors, and properties and economic enterprises from the diocese of Acre alone was about 240,000 crusader bezants, or 960 kilograms or 2,112 pounds of gold. It should be kept in mind, however, that a large part of the order's possessions was cultivated by the native peasants, whose labor represented an additional income now impossible to estimate.

The legal base of the order's economic undertakings may be found in the second paragraph of the rule: "The brothers, on account of the great expenses arising from the needs of so many people and hospitals and of the knights and the sick and the poor, may possess, to be held in common in the name of the order and their chapters, movables and inheritances, land and fields, vineyards, mills, fortresses, villages, parishes, chapels, tithes, and such things as are granted in their privileges. They may also possess in perpetual right people, men and women, serfs, male and female."

The order's wealth and landed estates provided the financial and economic basis for the supplies to its army and fortifications. We know nothing more of its headquarters in Acre than the bare fact that it had there a church, a hospital, part of the city wall with the

98. *Ibid.*, no. 98: agreement between the Teutonic Knights and James of Amigdala, July 7, 1244; cf. no. 128, p. 125.

99. On crusader coins see Lavoix, *op. cit.*, Wegemann, *op. cit.*, and Friedrich von Schröter, ed., *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin, 1930), *sub verbis* "békant," "dinar," "saracenatus."

100. Prutz, *Besitzungen*, p. 66.

101. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 112, p. 92.

adjoining rampart, and the conventional lodging.<sup>102</sup> To contribute their share to the defense system of the crusader states the Teutonic Knights acquired and rebuilt several strongholds in the vicinity of Acre, such as Judin, *Castellum Regis*,<sup>103</sup> and Montfort, which the Germans renamed Starkenberg. All three fortresses were located northeast of Acre, in a mountainous region.<sup>104</sup> About Judin we know nothing besides its name and location some three miles south of Montfort.<sup>105</sup> *Castellum Regis*, together with its appurtenances, the order bought in May 1220 from count Otto of Henneberg for 7,000 marks silver and 2,000 crusader bezants;<sup>106</sup> about the castle itself nothing is known. When the chronicler Burchard of Mount Sion visited the Holy Land after Baybars' attacks and his devastation of the district of Acre, he found *Castellum Regis* in the hands of the Saracens and castle Judin in ruins.<sup>107</sup>

Montfort lies about seven miles northeast of Acre in a mountainous region called Trefile, and was purchased by the Teutonic Knights on April 20, 1228, from James of Amigdala, together with the entire complex of fiefs, for 6,400 crusader bezants (25.6 kilograms or 56.3 pounds of gold), which were given to the order by emperor Frederick II from his income from the tolls in the harbor of Acre. This purchase was confirmed by the emperor in April 1229 at his palace at Acre.<sup>108</sup> The Teutonic Knights called Montfort the new castle, indicating that there was already an old castle of which the Teutonic Knights took possession in 1229, immediately beginning its reconstruction and expansion. The rebuilding of Montfort was permitted by the peace treaty between Frederick II and sultan al-Kāmil, concluded on February 18, 1229.

The fortress was halfway between Acre and Tyre, on a wooded hill between the branches of the brook Wādī Kurn; being some six

102. Burchard of Mount Sion, tr. Stewart (*PPTS*, XII-1), p. 9; Ludolph of Suchem, tr. Stewart, p. 53. For Ludolph see Wolfgang Stammel and Karl Langosch, eds., *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexicon* (5 vols., Berlin and Leipzig, 1933-1955), III, 85-86.

103. Burchard of Mount Sion, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Marino Sanudo, *Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them to Recover the Holy Land*, part XIV of book III, tr. Stewart (*PPTS*, XII-2), p. 24.

104. Marino Sanudo, tr. Stewart, p. 35.

105. Hubatsch, "Montfort," p. 197.

106. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 53, 54: letters of confirmation of sale of John of Brienne and Honorius III, May and October 1220; nos. 58, 59: letters of confirmation of possession of the Teutonic Knights by Frederick II and his wife Isabel, January 1226.

107. Burchard of Mount Sion, tr. Stewart, p. 26.

108. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 63, 65: letter of exchange of land of James of Amigdala, April 20, 1228, and the emperor's confirmation of it, April 1229; cf. no. 128, p. 125.

hundred feet above the brook level, it was difficult of access. Located close to Saracen territory, it was regarded by the knights, the papacy, and the westerners as a good stronghold against Moslem invasion of Christian territory. To obtain funds for rebuilding and fortifying the old castle the master, Hermann of Salza, asked the pope for financial support, and in July 1230 Gregory IX published an indulgence for ten years of a yearly remission of the seventh part of penitence to Christians who contributed money for rebuilding Montfort.<sup>109</sup> By 1240 the castle was already occupied and had a castellan, and by 1244 the reconstruction of the fortress was far enough advanced to permit the moving of the seat of the master to Montfort.<sup>110</sup> (Master Gerard of Malberg resigned his office at Montfort in 1244.)<sup>111</sup> To complete the rebuilding of Montfort pope Innocent IV in September 1245 granted a new indulgence of forty days to all Christians who contributed funds for this purpose.<sup>112</sup> As early as 1266 Montfort was attacked by sultan Baybars, but the fortress was not taken.<sup>113</sup>

In 1271 Baybars renewed his offensive against Christian possessions in the crusader states; after capturing the Templar castle Chastel-Blanc in February and the mighty Hospitaller fortresses Krak des Chevaliers and 'Akka in May, he marched southward and in early June laid siege to Montfort. On June 11 Baybars took the suburb and on June 18 the bastion, and then the Saracen soldiers began to make breaches in the wall of the fortress. Baybars promised 1,000 dirhems for each stone the soldiers removed from the wall. As the battle for the fortress advanced, messengers appeared from the castle, sent by the Teutonic Knights to negotiate terms of surrender. The sultan allowed the garrison of Montfort a safe conduct to Acre, but the knights were not allowed to take with them any possessions or arms. After the German withdrawal the sultan's standard was raised on the fortress. Later Baybars ordered the destruction of Montfort; its demolition was completed by July 4, 1271.<sup>114</sup> Such was the inglorious end of the mightiest German fortress in the Holy Land. Since Baybars' destruction the castle has never been occupied or rebuilt. Burchard

109. *Ibid.*, no. 72: encyclical of Gregory IX, July 10, 1230.

110. *Ibid.*, no. 89: agreement between the Teutonic Knights and the Knights Hospitaller about the income from the manor Arabia, 1240; and no. 99: letter of grant of James of Amigdala, July 7, 1244.

111. *Ibid.*, no. 486: bull of Innocent IV, January 16, 1245.

112. Ibn-al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, tr. Forstreuter, p. 232.

113. Röhricht, *Geschichte*, p. 930; *L'Estoire de Eracles (RHC, Occ., II)*, p. 454, note f.

114. Ibn-al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, as quoted in Forstreuter, pp. 232-233.

of Mount Sion, who saw the fortress after its destruction, could only sadly testify to its utter ruin.<sup>115</sup>

Western travelers and scholars of later centuries have visited Montfort and left several descriptions of the ruins of the fortress. According to the most reliable of these descriptions,<sup>116</sup> Montfort lies 590 feet above sea level at the confluence of two streams on a rather narrow ridge, which restricted the shape of the castle's layout. The stone castle was about 350 feet long, 80 feet wide, and probably three stories or approximately 90 feet high, with a large convent hall, a chapel, dormitories, rooms for the household, and a partial basement. The castle was surrounded by a wall about 1,500 feet long, with an independent detached donjon within the walls. Water was supplied to the castle from cisterns. At the bottom of the hill lay the ruins of another building complex, which have been variously identified as a mill, as a church, and as an infirmary or hospital.<sup>117</sup>

115. Burchard of Mount Sion, tr. Stewart, p. 21. The Moslem geographer ad-Dimashqi (1256-1327) visited Montfort about 1300 and wrote a brief description of it in his cosmography, cited in the bibliographical note, above. The paragraph relative to Montfort (tr. Le Strange, p. 495): "A fine castle on a hill and well fortified. In its lands is Al Kurain (Montfort), an impregnable castle lying between the two hills, and this was a frontier fortress of the Franks. It was taken by Sultan Baybars. There lies near it a valley most pleasant and celebrated among all the valleys, for its musk-pears, the like of which are found nowhere else for exquisiteness of perfume and excellence of flavour. There are also grown here citrons of such a size that a single fruit weighs 6 Damascus Ratis (or about 18 lbs.)."

116. Bashford Dean, *op. cit., passim*; Hubatsch, "Montfort," pp. 186-199.

117. Hubatsch, "Montfort," pp. 188-196; Forstreuter, *Deutsche Orden*, p. 44.

## B. Deeds of the Order and its Masters

About the first three masters of the Teutonic Knights nothing definite is known. We are not even sure of their correct names, as some sources call the first master Hermann Walpot, others Henry. Walpot died on November 5, before 1208, for by September 1208 the master was Otto of Kerpen; he died on February 7, 1209. In 1209 the new master was a certain Bart, who, like Walpot, is called "Henry" in some sources, "Hermann" in others; he died on June 3, presumably in 1210.<sup>118</sup>

The fourth master was Hermann of Salza (1210?–March 20, 1239). It is not known when he was born nor when he was elected master, but it was probably in 1210, for in October of that year a master Hermann was present in Acre, with other dignitaries of the crusader states, at the coronation of John of Brienne as king of Jerusalem.<sup>119</sup> In contemporary documents Hermann is mentioned as the master for the first time on February 14, 1211.<sup>120</sup> Hermann was a son of a family of the lower gentry whose members served the landgraves of Thuringia. Because of his devotion, energy, and talent, Hermann became not only the most famous master of the Teutonic Knights, but also a confidant, counselor, and agent of emperor Frederick II. He was a gifted diplomat and the founder of the order's state in Prussia.<sup>121</sup> His early years as the master, until 1215, were probably spent in the Near East.<sup>122</sup>

In 1211 the Teutonic Knights made their first appearance in Transyl-

118. On the first three masters see Perlbach, "Necrologe," *passim*; Peter of Dusburg, in *SSRP*, I, 29–30. For a fourteenth-century list of the masters see *Canonici Sambiensis annales*, ed. Wilhelm F. Arndt (*MGH, SS.*, XIX), pp. 701–702. For modern accounts of the masters see Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 647–651, and Tumler, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–33.

119. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXI, 1; a brother Hermann, master of the Teutonic Knights, is mentioned in 1209 (*ibid.*, XXX, 16), but it is impossible to establish whether this was Hermann Bart or Hermann of Salza; see Perlbach, "Necrologe," *passim*; Peter of Dusburg, *SSRP*, I, 30–32; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 651–653.

120. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 45: patriarch Albert of Jerusalem's letter of arbitration between Martin Rozia and Hermann of Salza, February 14, 1211.

121. Heimpel, "Hermann von Salza," *Die grossen Deutschen*, I, 171–186; Tumler, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–42; Hubatsch, "Montfort," pp. 177–184; *Altpreußische Biographie, sub nomine*.

122. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 45 (see above, note 120) and no. 48; Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, no. 15047: Matilda of Schwarzenberg's letter to the Teutonic Knights, April 9, 1215.

vania; they were called in by king Andrew II of Hungary to fight the Kumans there, and received from the king as their base a district called Burzenland, a stretch of land between Transylvania and Wallachia.<sup>123</sup> In the next two years the order obtained from Andrew the privilege of using its own coinage in Transylvania and also received the castle of Kreuzburg.<sup>124</sup>

In 1216 Hermann of Salza appeared in the west: in December, he was in Nuremberg at the court of Frederick II; because of Hermann's piety and honesty, the emperor bestowed upon the Teutonic Knights a house and other income in Brindisi in southern Italy.<sup>125</sup> It is not known under what circumstances these two men first met, or how Hermann attracted Frederick's attention, but once their mutual trust was established they remained friends for life. From this time on Hermann was a member of the emperor's court; he accompanied Frederick on his journeys, and traveled as his emissary throughout the Hohenstaufen empire.<sup>126</sup> Only seldom and on special occasions did he return to the Holy Land.

In 1217 Hermann returned from Germany to Palestine to lead his order in the Fifth Crusade. In October Hermann, together with the brothers Peter and Garin of Montaigu, masters respectively of the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller, and other dignitaries and leaders of the crusade, took part in a council of war in Acre, over which Andrew II, the king of Hungary, presided.<sup>127</sup> The leaders of the crusade had selected the Templar castle Château Pèlerin as their place of assembly. Therefore in the spring of 1218 the Templars, aided by the Teutonic Knights, fortified that castle.<sup>128</sup>

In May 1218 Hermann and his knights arrived at Château Pèlerin to embark for Egypt; they landed off Damietta on May 30.<sup>129</sup> They participated in the siege of Damietta, and in February 1219 they occupied the abandoned Moslem camp on the west bank of the Nile.<sup>130</sup> On July 31 the Teutonic Knights went to the rescue of the Templar

123. Zimmermann and Werner, *Urkundenbuch*, no. 19, and Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 158: feudal charter of Andrew II to the Teutonic Knights, May 1211; Peter of Dusburg, *SSRP*, I, 31.

124. Zimmermann and Werner, *Urkundenbuch*, no. 22, and Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 159, 160: feudal charters of Andrew II, 1212.

125. Böhmer, *Regesta*, nos. 887, 888: feudal charters of Frederick II, December 1216.

126. Lorck, *Hermann von Salza*, *passim*.

127. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXI, 10; Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 15049a.

128. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXI, 13; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, III, 14; Oliver, ed. Hoogeweg, cap. 11.

129. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXI, 13; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 35; Oliver, ed. Hoogeweg, cap. 10.

130. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 10824: letter to Frederick II, June 15, 1218; and *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, no. 77: papal transcript of this letter; *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXII, 8.

camp, which was being heavily attacked by the Saracens. On August 29 they participated in a battle against the Moslems and, like the other two military religious orders, suffered heavy losses: the Teutonic order lost thirty knights.<sup>131</sup> Sultan al-Kamil then offered the Christians the return of Moslem-occupied territory in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the return of the Holy Cross and the Christian captives who were in his hands, in exchange for a complete Christian withdrawal from Egypt. To consider this proposal the Christian leaders at Damietta convened in a council; the Teutonic Knights, John of Brienne, the regent of Jerusalem, and some of the prelates were in favor of accepting this proposal, whereas the Knights Templar, the Knights Hospitaller, the Italians, and many other prelates successfully opposed it.<sup>132</sup> After the Egyptian garrison abandoned Damietta on November 5, 1219, Hermann, together with other dignitaries, on November 11 sent to pope Honorius III a report on the capture of Damietta by the crusaders and on the planned advance toward Cairo.<sup>133</sup> Hermann also wrote a letter to Leo, cardinal-priest of Santa Croce, complaining about the plundering and pillaging of the captured city by the Christians.<sup>134</sup> In March 1220 the Teutonic Knights were forced to turn over to John of Brienne half of the order's spoils taken at Damietta.<sup>135</sup> By May 30 Hermann was back in Acre, leaving his knights in Damietta, where they were attacked by the Saracens and lost a ship with a supply of barley.<sup>136</sup>

Meanwhile Hermann himself had proceeded from the Holy Land to Italy, where in October he was acting as Frederick II's messenger to the pope, and on November 25 we find the master in the emperor's entourage, near Rome.<sup>137</sup> Since that was only three days after the coronation of the emperor by Honorius III, one must assume that Hermann was present at the ceremony.<sup>138</sup> He had probably conveyed

131. Oliver, ed. Hoogeweg, caps. 27, 29; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 48–50.

132. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXII, 11.

133. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 10845; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 925.

134. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 10848; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 926; for the pillaging of Damietta see Oliver, ed. Hoogeweg, cap. 48.

135. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 10856, and Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 930: open letter of John of Brienne, March 1220.

136. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 52: letter of sale of Otto, count of Henneberg, May 30, 1220; Oliver, ed. Hoogeweg, caps. 48–49.

137. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXII, 17, and Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 1180: letter of Frederick II to Honorius III, October 4, 1220; nos. 1224, 1228: Frederick II's proclamations, November 25, 1220.

138. Some indirect indication of Hermann's presence at the coronation can be traced to Frederick's letter of confirmation of privileges to the Teutonic Knights, December 1221, in Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, II, 224–225.

a message to the pope in October regarding the proposed crowning. In April 1221 at Taranto Hermann secured from Frederick II several privileges for the Teutonic Knights, the most important being the right to voyage freely between Calabria and Sicily, exemption from taxes and customs, free use of waters, pastures, and woods, the right to receive fiefs within the empire, and the donation of a hospital at Palermo.<sup>139</sup>

Hermann was not only a crusader and a friend of the emperor; he was also the head of the Teutonic order, and he never missed an opportunity to secure from the Roman curia new privileges for his brothers. While on crusade he had asked the emperor to intercede with the pope to help him to obtain for his order the same status that the two other military religious orders, the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, enjoyed, as well as papal permission to wear the white mantle. On his coronation day Frederick II approached Honorius III on this matter and received a sympathetic hearing.<sup>140</sup> On January 9, 1221, the pope in two separate bulls granted Hermann and his brothers the right to wear, as the Templars did, the white mantle, and also granted the Teutonic Knights the same immunity as the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller had.<sup>141</sup> In order to provide means for the Teutonic Knights to procure white mantles, the emperor in December 1221 provided the order with 200 ounces of gold in yearly income from the town of Brindisi.<sup>142</sup>

Hermann, once having won the goodwill of Honorius III, continued to strike while the iron was hot: during his month-long sojourn at the papal court in the Lateran palace from January 9 until February 9 Hermann secured from the Roman pontiff no less than fifty-four separate bulls confirming existing privileges and granting new exemptions to the Teutonic order.<sup>143</sup> Hermann had secured the benevolence and protection of the two most powerful men in western Christendom. He remained a trusted friend and a valued servant both to the emperor and to the papacy for the rest of his life.

In July 1221 Hermann was back in Egypt,<sup>144</sup> where he participated in the negotiations between the Christians and the Moslems for the return of Damietta to al-Kāmil, and was delivered, together with the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, as a hostage to the sultan

139. *Ibid.*, II, 156–166: letters of Frederick II to the Teutonic Knights, April 1221; and 226–228: Frederick's confirmation of privileges to the same, December 1221.

140. *Ibid.*, II, 224.

141. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 308–309: bulls of Honorius III, January 9, 1221.

142. Huillard-Bréholles, *loc. cit.*

143. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 308–362.

144. Oliver, ed. Hoogeweg, cap. 57.

to ensure the surrender of Damietta to the Moslems according to the provisions of the treaty.<sup>145</sup> On September 8, 1221, Hermann and the master of the Templars, as representatives of the Christian army in Egypt, surrendered Damietta to the Saracens.<sup>146</sup>

By February 5, 1222, Hermann was back in Italy to report directly to the pope and the emperor on the failure of the Fifth Crusade. On the same day he obtained from Frederick II for the order the church of St. Thomas at Barletta,<sup>147</sup> where seventeen years later his body was buried in the order's chapel; today no trace of his tomb is to be found.

By 1222 the order had made good headway in Transylvania: it had built several strong stone castles, had gained more land, and had begun to colonize the acquired territory with settlers from Germany. Thus the order had begun to build its own state in Transylvania, in territory which was part of the Hungarian kingdom, presumably with the consent of Andrew II.<sup>148</sup> But the Teutonic Knights in that country not only increased their power and grip on their possessions; they also began to treat the Hungarian nobility and clergy with indignity. There is no evidence of the part Hermann played in shaping the order's local policy in Transylvania, but anti-Teutonic sentiment in Hungary was increasing. When pope Honorius III in 1224 issued a bull which informed the Hungarian bishops that he was taking the order's possessions in Transylvania under papal protection and was exempting the order's lands from local episcopal jurisdiction,<sup>149</sup> it was evident that the publication of the bull was the result of Hermann's diplomacy. This bull also revealed the political goals of the Teutonic Knights in Transylvania: with papal support the master wanted to establish a German mission state, independent of the king of Hungary, between the Hungarians and their eastern neighbors, the Kumans, thus converting the Transylvanian branch of his order into a state of the order.

In the winter of 1224–1225 the resentful Hungarian nobility, led by king Andrew II, attacked the Teutonic Knights and expelled them from Transylvania. Hermann returned to Italy in the early spring of 1225, and probably approached Honorius III with a complaint about

145. *Ibid.*, cap. 79.

146. *Ibid.*, cap. 81; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 41: Frederick II's open letter, December 8, 1227.

147. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXII, 29; Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 1372: feudal charter of Frederick II.

148. Zimmermann and Werner, *Urkundenbuch*, no. 31, and Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 163: feudal charter to the Teutonic Knights, 1222.

149. Zimmermann and Werner, *Urkundenbuch*, nos. 40–41, and Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 164–165: bulls of Honorius III, April 30, 1224.

the expulsion, for in June the pope asked Andrew for the restitution of the possessions and privileges of the Teutonic Knights in Transylvania. The Hungarians paid no heed:<sup>150</sup> Transylvania was lost to the Teutonic Knights forever.

Late in 1225 Frederick II married Isabel of Brienne, princess of Jerusalem, and became regent of the kingdom; Hermann of Salza was present at the wedding ceremony.<sup>151</sup> Hermann used this occasion to obtain new favors for his order from the newlyweds: in January 1226 Frederick, because of Hermann's faithful service, took under his special protection the order, its brethren, and all their possessions in the kingdom of Jerusalem; Isabel in a separate document affirmed that the emperor had acted with her consent.<sup>152</sup>

The loss of Transylvania by the Teutonic Knights in 1225 was compensated for by an offer in the same year from Conrad, the Polish duke of Masovia, who sent a delegation to the master in Italy asking the order to undertake a crusade against the pagan Prussians. During the pontificate of Innocent III, a Cistercian monk named Christian had been appointed bishop to the Prussians, and energetically begun to spread the word of God among the Prussian tribes. In 1221 Christian even organized a crusade against the Prussians in which several Polish dukes and bishops participated. But in 1224 the Prussians destroyed Christian's mission, attacked their eastern Polish neighbors, and devastated the borderland between Prussian and Polish territory. In order to check Prussian attacks and save his own land from further destruction, Conrad of Masovia solicited the aid of the Teutonic Knights. Whether there was any connection between the expulsion of the German knights from Transylvania and their invitation to Prussia is difficult to establish, but such a request suited Hermann's goals. He neither refused it nor accepted it outright, but, being a shrewd politician and farsighted diplomat, sought the emperor's support and protection for such an intervention.

Consequently, Frederick II in March 1226 at Rimini issued one of the most important imperial edicts concerning the Teutonic Knights: this edict, usually called the Golden Bull of Rimini, not only opened the door for German colonization of Prussia, but also legalized the founding of the order's state in the conquered territory. From this

150. Zimmermann and Werner, *Urkundenbuch*, nos. 44–49, 51, 53–55, 59, 61, 68: papal bulls, June 10, 1225, to October 11, 1234.

151. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXII, 20.

152. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, nos. 58, 59, and Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, nos. 1590, 1591: imperial privileges to the Teutonic Knights.

edict we also learn that in return for the requested help, Conrad was compelled to cede to the Teutonic Knights a border district between Prussia and Masovia called Kulm, and another unnamed territory. Furthermore, Hermann secured from Conrad his consent in advance for the Teutonic Knights to keep any territory they conquered from the Prussians; it was easy for Conrad to give away territory that was not part of his domain. To confirm the agreement, Frederick in his edict solemnly announced: "We concede and confirm to this master, his successors, and his house in perpetuity the above-mentioned land [Kulm] which he will receive, as promised by the aforesigned duke, and in addition, land that may be given to him [in the future], as well as the whole of territory which he, with God's help, will conquer in Prussia."<sup>153</sup> Hermann did not depart for Prussia but sent one of his knights, Conrad of Landsberg, to Masovia to investigate conditions there; Hermann was needed at the court of Frederick II to help him to prepare for the long-delayed crusade.

Honorius III died on March 18, 1227, while Hermann was still in Germany, and the new pope, Gregory IX, in April supported Hermann's mission in Germany by repeating his predecessor's plea to the Germans.<sup>154</sup> In June Hermann was back in Italy and was sent by the emperor to Gregory,<sup>155</sup> probably to introduce himself to the new pope and to discuss matters relative to the crusade. Finally, in August 1227, the main body of the crusade of Frederick II sailed from Brindisi to the Holy Land, and the emperor followed on September 8, accompanied by the leader of the German contingent, landgrave Louis of Thuringia. But the landgrave, stricken by plague, died shortly after leaving Brindisi, and the emperor, also ill, on the advice of his companions disembarked at Otranto to recover from his illness. However, the emperor's flotilla of twenty ships, under the command of duke Henry of Limburg, Gerald, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Hermann of Salza, in mid-September continued its voyage to the east.<sup>156</sup> From Otranto Frederick sent envoys to Gregory at Anagni to inform him of the new delay, but the pope, placing no credence in Frederick's story, excommunicated him on September 29.

After stopping at Cyprus the flotilla, with Hermann aboard, arrived in the Holy Land, probably in October 1227.<sup>157</sup> Frederick, still

153. Hubatsch, *Quellen*, no. 5: privilege to the Teutonic Knights, March 1226.

154. *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, nos. 351–354, and Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 6685: papal letters to the emperor and various German princes, April 16, 1227.

155. Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, p. 347.

156. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 44: open letter of Frederick II, December 8, 1227.

157. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 128.

under papal excommunication, landed at Acre on September 7, 1228, a year after his first embarkation at Brindisi. In Acre the emperor was met by many local dignitaries, including the masters of the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights. However, it soon became apparent that because of the papal ban, many of the leaders hesitated to support Frederick and his plans for the crusader states; only the Teutonic Knights, the Genoese, and the Pisans stood by the emperor.<sup>158</sup>

Hermann of Salza met Frederick at Acre and accompanied him during his stay in the Holy Land, acting as his counselor and emissary. When the emperor moved to Jaffa in mid-November, Hermann was with him and remained with him until he left the city in mid-March 1229. During this time Frederick conducted negotiations with sultan al-Kāmil for the return of the holy city to the Christians, and though it appears that Hermann had no active role in the negotiations, his opinion was sought by the emperor. Hermann, together with the masters of the other two orders (Peter of Montaigu and Bertrand of Thessy) and the English bishops, advised the emperor to obtain consent for such a treaty from the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerald, an unyielding supporter of Gregory IX and the leader of the anti-imperial party in the Holy Land, but Frederick disdained the advice. The agreement between the emperor and the sultan was concluded on February 18, and Hermann, with Thomas, count of Acerra, and Balian, lord of Sidon, was dispatched by Frederick to al-Kāmil to secure his oath to the treaty. After receiving al-Kāmil's oath, the latter two departed for the court of an-Nāṣir Dā'ūd, the ruler of Damascus, to obtain his support for the treaty, while Hermann was sent to patriarch Gerald to procure his consent, as well as to ask the patriarch to participate in Frederick's solemn entry into the holy city. Hermann's eloquence failed to persuade the patriarch, and consequently Frederick decided to effect his entrance into Jerusalem without Gerald.

On March 17, 1229, Frederick entered the holy city, and the master of the Teutonic Knights and many of the crusaders accompanied the emperor. The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, however, obeyed the ban by the patriarch against associating with the emperor as an excommunicate and outlaw of the Roman church.<sup>159</sup> Next day in the church of the Holy Sepulcher Frederick—Hermann again being present—crowned himself king of Jerusalem, and afterward read to the congregation, probably in Italian, a manifesto about his cru-

158. *Ibid.*, III, 160; Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 1732x: description of Frederick II's landing at Acre, September 7, 1228.

159. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXIII, 5-7.

sade, which the master of the Teutonic Knights was asked to render in Latin and German.<sup>160</sup> After the coronation ceremonies, Hermann advised the emperor to request Templar and Hospitaller support for the rebuilding of the fortifications of Jerusalem; on behalf of the emperor Hermann then made such requests to the masters of the two orders. But they hesitated to promise their support, and Frederick, angered by their reluctance, departed the following day for Jaffa; on March 22 the emperor, accompanied by the Teutonic Knights, entered Acre. Frederick rewarded the service of Hermann and his knights rather generously: he granted the order 6,400 crusader bezants in yearly income from the revenues of the harbor of Acre, for a period of four years.

The Teutonic Knights served Frederick well, not only in the Holy Land, but also at home in Italy. On March 7, 1229, a Teutonic Knight named Leonard had brought to the emperor at Jaffa news from Italy about the invasion of Apulia by papal troops. Perhaps he had also brought Frederick the letter from Thomas, the count of Acerra, warning him of the dangers of papal animosity and describing the speedy progress of the army led by John of Brienne in southern Italy.<sup>161</sup> On May 1, 1229, Frederick left Acre for Italy, accompanied by Hermann of Salza. After stopping at Cyprus, Frederick landed in Brindisi on June 10, and shortly afterward sent Hermann, together with other members of the order, as emissaries to Gregory IX to negotiate peace.<sup>162</sup> The negotiations progressed rather slowly, and Hermann had to make several missions to the curia; during these peace overtures Hermann was the chief negotiator, though he was always accompanied by ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, including cardinals, archbishops, and a delegation of German princes.

Finally on July 23 at San Germano the emperor took an oath to atone for all matters over which he had been excommunicated. On August 28, 1230, he was absolved by two papal emissaries, John Halgrin, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, and Thomas of Capua, cardinal-priest of St. Sabina.<sup>163</sup> On September 1 the emperor was received with great pomp by Gregory in Anagni, where the former adversaries had a long

160. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 100; according to Hermann of Salza's account: "verba sua ipsis latine et theutonice exponeremus"; according to patriarch Gerald's account (*ibid.*, III, 109): "primo in theutonico et postea in gallico ad nobiles et populum inchoavit."

161. Bohmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 1736a; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 110-112: Thomas of Capua's letter, February or March 1229.

162. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, nos. 1753a, 1755b; Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, pp. 353, 355.

163. Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, pp. 359-362; see also Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 6805b; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 227: Frederick II's encyclical, September 1230.

private conversation in the papal chamber, with only the master of the Teutonic Knights present. The next day Frederick returned to his camp outside Anagni, and Hermann went with him.<sup>164</sup>

Hermann, while striving after peace, did not forget the interests of his own order: in May 1230 the emperor confirmed a gift to the Teutonic Knights of several possessions in Apulia, while Gregory on January 18, at Hermann's request, confirmed to the order those grants of castles and territories which had been made by Conrad, duke of Masovia in 1228, and urged the Teutonic Knights to undertake a crusade against the heathen Prussians. On August 27, 1230, the pope repeated this confirmation.<sup>165</sup> But Hermann's role in rehabilitating the emperor was not over yet. Frederick had crowned himself king of Jerusalem, but Gregory had not recognized his title. Hermann continued to carry on negotiations between the pope and the emperor until the pope finally recognized Frederick's title in August 1231.<sup>166</sup> The grateful emperor in September granted the Teutonic Knights more possessions in Italy: "In view of the unfailing faithfulness and praiseworthy devotion of brother Hermann, the venerable master of the German House of the Hospital of St. Mary, and of his convent, our faithful supporters . . . and in view of the service offered and received, which the master and convent have fully rendered to our Majesty, both in the kingdom [of Sicily] and overseas, unstintingly render now, and . . . may render in the future, out of our natural generosity, and in gratitude, by which we are used to provide for our good servants and followers, we grant and concede [certain specified pieces of land] . . ."<sup>167</sup>

In 1233, upon the insistence of the people of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Hermann was sent to the Holy Land by the emperor as his representative to negotiate a reconciliation between the imperial and the papal parties in Acre. In 1234 an agreement was reached and the pope and the emperor approved it and urged the barons and the bishops in the Holy Land to respect it. In July 1234 Hermann was back in Italy and remained with the imperial entourage.<sup>168</sup>

164. Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, p. 362.

165. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 195–196; Frederick II's letter to the Teutonic Knights, May 1230; *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, no. 411, and Bohmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 6801; bull of Gregory IX, January 1230; Joachim and Hubatsch, *Regesta*, II, no. 49; bull of Gregory IX to the Teutonic Knights, August 27, 1230.

166. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 298–299; letter of Gregory IX to Frederick II, August 12, 1231.

167. *Ibid.*, III, 303; letter of Frederick II to the Teutonic Knights, September 1231.

168. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXIII, 40; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, IV, 481–483; *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, nos. 578, 594; and Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, nos. 7017, 7036; letters

Frederick's second wife, Isabel of Brienne, had died in 1228 after giving birth to a son, Conrad (IV). In 1235 Frederick was contemplating his third marriage, this time to Isabel Plantagenet, daughter of king John and sister to Henry III of England. According to Matthew Paris, Frederick sent two Teutonic Knights with an entourage to Henry with a letter requesting Isabel's hand. The messengers arrived at Westminster on February 23; four days later they were given Henry's favorable reply. What Hermann's role in the marriage arrangements were, we do not know, but the king of England in late April asked the master to intervene on his behalf at the papal and imperial courts.<sup>169</sup> Meanwhile Frederick was preoccupied with another problem, the independent polity of his son Henry (VII) in Germany. To bring him to obedience and to celebrate his wedding with Isabel, Frederick left Italy for Germany. Hermann accompanied him, and persuaded Henry to submit to his father. Frederick took his son captive at Worms on July 4,<sup>170</sup> and on July 15 in the same old imperial city married Isabel Plantagenet.

At Viterbo, while vainly awaiting Lombard negotiators, Hermann in the presence of the pope succeeded early in 1236 in concluding an agreement with the representatives of the citizens of Acre which restored to Frederick and Conrad, his son by Isabel of Brienne, all their rights and privileges in the Holy Land.<sup>171</sup>

Hartmann of Heldrungen, a Teutonic Knight and future master of the order, reports<sup>172</sup> that for six years the master of the order of the Swordbearers, Volquin, had been asking Hermann of Salza to agree to the incorporation of the Swordbearers into the Teutonic Knights. After long hesitation, Hermann finally in 1235 dispatched two brothers to Livonia to investigate conditions there. They returned to Germany in 1236, when Hermann was in Italy. Hermann's deputy in Germany, Louis of Öttingen, convoked a chapter of seventy brothers at Marburg to whom the emissaries reported their conclusions

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of Gregory IX to the prelates and barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem, March 22 and August 8, 1234; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, IV, 479–481, and Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 2051; letter of Frederick II to the same, August 1234; *ibid.*, V, no. 14722; letter of confirmation of Frederick II, July 1234.

169. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 318; Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 11157; letter of Henry III of England to Frederick II, April 27, 1235.

170. Bohmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, nos. 2090, 2092, 2096–2097; letters of Frederick II to various lords, May to June 22, 1235; nos. 4383a, 4383b: reports in contemporary chronicles on the proceedings at Worms, June 1235; Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, p. 373.

171. *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, no. 674, and Bohmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, no. 7123; letter of Gregory IX to Frederick II, February 21, 1236; see also *MGH, op. cit.*, I, no. 673; letter of Gregory IX to the Teutonic Knights in Acre, February 19, 1236.

172. "Hartmanns von Heldrungen Bericht," ed. Hirsch, *SSRP*, V, 168–172.

about conditions in Livonia. Since the chapter could not reach a consensus, it decided to refer the matter to the master, and Hermann, after returning from Italy, received in Vienna, perhaps in January 1237, a delegation which included Hartmann and Louis. After consultation with this delegation, Hermann decided to receive the brethren of the order of the Swordbearers into the Teutonic order.

To obtain papal sanction for his decision, Hermann "himself rode to the Roman curia," evidently in March 1237, accompanied by Hartmann and a representative of the order of the Swordbearers. They found the pope at Viterbo, but while the delegation was awaiting the papal decision, another messenger from the Swordbearers arrived to inform the pope that the master of the Swordbearers had been killed in a battle with the heathen natives, together with sixty members of that order; thus the order was practically annihilated. The pope again was pressed for his consent to the incorporation of the Swordbearers into the Teutonic order, and finally on May 12, 1237, Gregory agreed to this.<sup>173</sup> The act of incorporation was solemnly performed in the presence of the pope: the representatives of the Swordbearers knelt before Gregory; he addressed them, and they then took off their white mantles with the red sword and star of the Swordbearers and put on white mantles with the black cross of the Teutonic Knights; a brother of the Teutonic Knights, Conrad of Strassburg, served as papal marshal. After the act of incorporation, Hermann asked his companions in their quarters: "Tell me, brothers, what have we gained in castles and land?" and Hartmann responded that Livonia was a rich country.

Hermann's decision about the Swordbearers in Livonia became the cornerstone on which was founded the expansion of the Teutonic order in that remote northeastern corner of Europe. Later, after the loss of Acre and the expulsion of the Teutonic order from the Holy Land in 1291, both of Hermann's decisions—to participate in the conquest of Prussia in 1226 and to incorporate the Swordbearers in Livonia into the order in 1237—proved so wise and advantageous that the possession of these two countries not only justified the continued existence of the Teutonic Knights, but also made the order a mighty territorial lord and a German and Catholic bulwark against Russian and Greek Orthodox expansion in the Baltic region. Therefore all German historians consider Hermann of Salza the founder of the *Deutschordensstaat*. His decision to seek papal approval instead of

173. Friedrich G. Bunge et al., eds., *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* (15 vols., Reval et alibi, 1853-1914), I, no. 149, and Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 244; bull of Gregory IX on the incorporation of the Swordbearers into the Teutonic order, May 12, 1237.

imperial sanction, as he did in 1226 about Prussia, probably reflected the fact that the Swordbearers were subject to papal authority, not to the emperor. Moreover, by this move of Hermann, Livonia was formally exempted from the jurisdiction of the emperor.

In August 1238 Hermann departed for Salerno to seek a cure for his illness from the famous physicians there.<sup>174</sup> However, their skill could not heal the ailing master: he died in Salerno, probably on March 20, 1239.<sup>175</sup> On the same day, Gregory IX again excommunicated emperor Frederick II, and on June 11 he threatened to revoke all the privileges of the order if they supported the emperor against the papacy.<sup>176</sup>

Theobald IV, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, landed with his French crusaders at Acre in September 1239 and soon afterward held a council of war with the local barons; among the participants was the recently elected master of the Teutonic Knights, Conrad of Thuringia,<sup>177</sup> the youngest son of landgrave Hermann I. At this meeting it was decided to attack Ascalon, but on November 13 the Saracens defeated the main Christian army near Gaza; many were taken prisoner. When this news reached Theobald, he hurried with the Teutonic Knights to the aid of the Christians, but the Germans arrived too late to rescue the captives.<sup>178</sup>

The Knights Hospitaller, taking advantage of the rift between Gregory IX and Frederick II and of Hermann of Salza's death, had asked the Roman curia to subject the Teutonic order to the jurisdiction of the Hospitallers. On January 12, 1240, Gregory ordered the Teutonic Knights to send their representative to Rome to answer the Hospitallers' demands. Consequently the new master, Conrad of Thuringia, departed for Rome in April to defend his order. Many German princes urged Gregory IX to use the good offices of the master to negotiate a reconciliation with the emperor; however, Conrad died on July 24, 1240, soon after his arrival in Rome. In 1241 at Acre a former marshal of the Teutonic Knights, Gerard of Malberg, was chosen the new master of the order.<sup>179</sup>

174. Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, p. 376: "Magister domus Alamannorum Salernum se confert pro sanitate recuperanda."

175. Perlbach, "Necrologie," *passim*.

176. *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, no. 749: letter of Gregory IX to the Teutonic Knights, June 11, 1239.

177. *Manuscrit de Rothelin (RHC, Occ., II, 483-639)*, cap. 22.

178. *Ibid.*, cap. 29.

179. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 468: letter of Gregory IX to the Teutonic Knights, January 12, 1240; *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, no. 768: a summary of letters of various German princes

In the meantime, on October 11, 1240, the brother of the king of England, Richard, earl of Cornwall, had landed in Acre with his crusaders, and the crusader barons with the support of the Templars and the Teutonic Knights attempted to persuade the earl to respect the peace treaty which had been concluded between Theobald of Champagne and the Aiyübids earlier in 1240.<sup>180</sup> In the Holy Land relations between the various Christian lords were not much better than those in Italy between the papacy and the emperor. By 1241 the Hospitallers were engaged in open hostilities with the Templars, who also had attacked the Teutonic Knights at Acre and driven the main body of their convent out of the city, for the Teutonic Knights were known as staunch supporters of the Templars' enemy, Frederick II.<sup>181</sup> In February 1242 the master of the Teutonic Knights, Gerard of Malberg, departed for Italy, perhaps to complain to Frederick about the Templars, and to take up again with the papal curia the Hospitallers' request for the subordination of the Teutonic Knights to the Knights Hospitaller. Frederick II took advantage of the master's appearance at his court to send him as his emissary to the papal curia to pursue negotiations in the Lombard quarrel.<sup>182</sup> Thus Frederick continued his policy of using the master of the Teutonic Knights as his advisor on and mediator with the papacy.

When on June 25, 1243, Innocent IV was elected pope, Frederick immediately notified him of Gerard's official status as his emissary.<sup>183</sup> The new pope received the master sympathetically: Gerard offered the pope his oath of fidelity, and Innocent, in turn, renewed the order's rights over Prussia, and granted the order certain concessions in regard to its statutes.<sup>184</sup> With this, Gerard's mission to Italy was completed, and he returned to the Holy Land. It appears that at Acre — during the feud between the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, which lasted well into 1243 — a strong opposition to the master had grown among his own brethren; in fact, internal strife had developed between two factions within the order. As a result of these quarrels, of which we know nothing, Gerard with his adherents resigned from

to Gregory IX, April 4 to May 11, 1240. For Gerard of Malberg see Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, p. 382, where he mentions that in February 1242 a recently elected master has arrived at the papal court; the exact election date of Gerard is not known.

180. Philip of Novara, "Mémoires," ed. Raynaud, p. 123.

181. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 167–168.

182. Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, p. 382.

183. MGH, *Legum: Constitutiones*, II, no. 239: letter of Frederick II to Innocent IV, June 26, 1243.

184. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 470: bull of February 9, 1244.

the order at some time before July 1244, at Montfort. In January 1245 Innocent IV granted Gerard the right to enter the Knights Templar,<sup>185</sup> but he never did so. From Innocent's privilege, it is apparent that work at Montfort had advanced far enough to allow its use as the master's official residence.

After Gerard's resignation, the Teutonic Knights elected as their new master Henry of Hohenlohe, who is first mentioned as master on July 7, 1244. The first engagement in which Henry might have participated as master of the Teutonic Knights took place in October 1244 near Gaza, where the Egyptians and the Khwarizmians annihilated the combined Christian and Syrian army. According to Matthew Paris and the Continuator of William of Tyre, only three Teutonic Knights escaped captivity or death;<sup>186</sup> if these accounts are correct, then Henry was not present at the battle. After this disastrous defeat Henry departed for the imperial court in Italy. From there Frederick II in April 1245 sent the master to the Council of Lyons to negotiate peace between the emperor and the papacy,<sup>187</sup> but his efforts brought no positive results. In the following year Henry went to Prussia to lead in person the order's campaigns against the duke of Pomerelia, Svantopelk. After the conclusion of a peace treaty with Svantopelk in 1248, Henry of Hohenlohe returned to Germany, where he died on July 15, 1249.<sup>188</sup>

In 1250 Gunther of Wittersleben was elected as the next master;<sup>189</sup> there is no information about his deeds. However, before Gunther's election Louis IX, the king of France, had landed with his crusaders in Egypt, and on June 6, 1249, captured the city of Damietta and allocated certain houses in the city to the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights, who had fought with the crusader army. The great defeat of the Christians came on February 8, 1250, at Mansurah, where the vanguard of the crusader army, led by the king's brother, count Robert of Artois, was completely destroyed. According to the Continuator of William of Tyre, only four Teutonic Knights

185. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 256; Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 483: letter to the Teutonic Knights; *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, nos. 83–84, January 16, 1245, and no. 127, August 5, 1245: letters of Innocent IV to the Teutonic Knights.

186. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 302, 339, 342; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, VI, 254–259: Frederick II's letter to Richard, earl of Cornwall, February 27, 1245; *Manuscrit de Rothelin*, cap. 41.

187. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 538–544: encyclical of Frederick II, July 31, 1246.

188. Joachim and Hubatsch, *Regesta*, II, nos. 93, 95; Tumler, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Perlbach, "Necrologie," pp. 359, 362.

189. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, p. 662.

were lost; however, Matthew Paris records that only three Teutonic Knights escaped.<sup>190</sup> Then, on April 6, Louis was taken captive with the rest of the French contingent. Negotiations for ransoming the king and the release of the prisoners were begun immediately, and after Louis had agreed to deliver the city of Damietta to the Saracens and pay a substantial amount of money, he was released from captivity together with William of Châteauneuf, the master of the Hospitalers, twenty-five knights of that order, fifteen Templars, ten Teutonic Knights, and seven hundred other captives.<sup>191</sup> Whether Gunther of Wittersleben had any part in the crusade of Louis IX is not known. Gunther died on May 3 or 4, 1252.<sup>192</sup>

Poppo of Osterna was elected in 1252 to succeed Gunther; about his deeds as master nothing is known. In 1256 in Rome, where he held a general chapter, Poppo resigned his office.<sup>193</sup> This same chapter elected as his successor Anno (abbreviation of Johannes?) of Sangerhausen, who is first mentioned in documents as master on January 4, 1257.<sup>194</sup> Before his election Anno was the master of the Teutonic Knights in Livonia; during his long tenure many important events in the order's life took place in the Holy Land. According to the Continuator of William of Tyre, the Teutonic Knights, together with the Templars and the local barons, in 1257 acknowledged Henry II de Lusignan as the legal king of Jerusalem.<sup>195</sup> He was opposed by the Hohenstaufen Conradin, the son of Conrad IV (who died in 1254) and grandson of emperor Frederick II (who died in 1250). If the author of the *Eracles* is correct, this was a shift in the traditional policy of the Teutonic Knights from support of the Hohenstaufens and their claims to the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In 1256 the frequent and enduring disputes between the Venetian and Genoese merchants in Acre had led to open hostilities, nicknamed the war of St. Sabas (1256–1261), over the possession of the monastery of St. Sabas on the mound of Montjoie, which overlooked the city. The military religious orders became involved in this conflict, with the Knights Hospitaller supporting the Genoese, while the Teu-

190. *Manuscrit de Rothelin*, caps. 62, 63; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, V, 158.

191. *Manuscrit de Rothelin*, cap. 71.

192. Perlbach, "Necrologie," pp. 359, 364.

193. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 664–665; Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 104: agreement between the Teutonic Knights and Bartholomew, bishop of Hebron, September 26, 1253; *ibid.*, no. 249: Poppo's letter to the Livonian branch of the order, September 13, 1254; *ibid.*, no. 567: letter of Alexander IV to the Teutonic Knights, August 9, 1257; Peter of Dusburg, *SSRP*, I, 200; *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), lines 4309–4358.

194. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 108: grant of land to the Teutonic Knights by Julian of Sidon.

195. *Manuscrit de Rothelin*, cap. 79.

tonic Knights and the Templars sided with the Venetians. The Teutonic Knights strove for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, but to no avail.<sup>196</sup>

During the war of St. Sabas the masters of the three orders — Thomas Berard of the Knights Templar, Hugh Revel of the Knights Hospitaler, and Anno of Sangerhausen of the Teutonic Knights — met on October 9, 1253, in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Acre to sign an agreement to end their mutual feud and conclude a “permanent peace and pleasing harmony.”<sup>197</sup> To stress the importance of this reconciliation the great dignitaries in the Holy Land assembled to witness the signing of the treaty: the papal legate to the kingdom of Jerusalem, patriarch James of Jerusalem; John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf and constable and bailie of Jerusalem; Geoffrey of Sargines, seneschal of Jerusalem; and many others. More significant than the witnesses, however, were the solemn pledges undertaken by the three orders to respect the reconciliation: the text of the agreement was to be recited and sworn to every year by the present masters and by every newly elected master in the general chapter of his order in the presence of twelve brethren from the other two orders; likewise all brothers of the three orders were bidden to observe the agreement inviolably. Furthermore, as soon as they were elected, all commanders, castellans, and their subordinates in the crusader states and in Cyprus had to take an oath similar to that of the masters to respect this agreement. In case of breach of the agreement, in part or completely, the offending order was obliged to compensate the other two orders with one thousand marks in silver; the orders’ movable and landed possessions were offered as surety. Finally, to give the agreement a greater effect, it was sworn to upon the Holy Gospel and was accompanied by renunciation of all privileges and immunities of the three orders that would contradict this agreement.

Subject to this agreement were all questions and quarrels among the three masters and the brothers of their orders in the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Cilician Armenia, the principality of Antioch, and the county of Tripoli. Exempted, however, were disagreements over castles, manors, and hamlets; such disputes were to be brought before ecclesiastical or secular courts.

The brothers of the three orders agreed to support each other with counsel, aid, and assistance in their wars against the enemies of the faith, and each order had to offer aid at its own expense to the other

196. Templar of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. Raynaud, caps. 270–271.

197. Strehlke, *Tabulae*, no. 116: agreement among the Teutonic Knights, the Knights Templar, and the Knights Hospitalier, October 9, 1258.

two if war should be waged in the kingdom of Jerusalem, Cilician Armenia, the county of Tripoli, or the principality of Antioch. However, if the Teutonic Knights went to the aid of the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller in Tripoli and Antioch, their expenses for victuals, forage, and men were to be met by the order to whose aid the Teutonic Knights were called. There was a further stipulation that in joint operations within the kingdom of Jerusalem the Teutonic Knights had to support themselves only for one month, and only west of the Jordan. If the hostilities continued beyond a month, then the order which had asked for help from the Teutonic Knights had to supply victuals and fodder for the German troops for three months. On the other hand, if the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller went to the aid of the Teutonic Knights against the enemies of the faith, it was their obligation to support themselves anywhere in the crusader states (*citra mare*), though not in Europe. This restriction entailed the exclusion of the Templars and Hospitallers from participation in the wars of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia and Livonia. This stipulation was as convenient to the Templars and Hospitallers as to the Teutonic Knights: the former two were not committed to participate in the wars of the Teutons outside the Holy Land, while the Teutonic Knights kept the other two orders out of territories which the Germans claimed as their own.

The concluding paragraphs of the agreement regulated administrative matters and the jurisdiction of the orders: brethren of the three orders could not bear arms against each other; if a master of one order left the crusader states, presumably for Europe, before his departure he had to make arrangements with the other two masters and their brethren for the support and defense of his order during his absence. This regulation was inserted probably because of the frequent and prolonged absences of the master of the Teutonic Knights from the Holy Land. The final statement, beyond doubt, was included at the request of the Teutonic Knights: "We order that, in case the master or the convent of the Hospital of St. John raise the question of obedience of the master and brethren of the German hospital of St. Mary, the independence of the orders in question has to be preserved according to the present agreement." This agreement would receive papal confirmation only some seventeen years later, on March 13, 1275, by Gregory X, and then upon the express request of the Knights Hospitaller.<sup>198</sup> One result, nevertheless, appears certain: the Hospitallers never again tried to exercise jurisdiction over the Teutonic Knights.

198. *Ibid.*, no. 127: bull of Gregory X.

Whether the decision by the chapter of the Teutonic order after 1264,<sup>199</sup> which states that no master should leave the Holy Land without the chapter's consent, was the immediate result of the 1258 agreement, it is impossible to determine. However, the document clearly indicates the growing resentment by the brothers of the order against the established tradition of the long absence of the masters from the Holy Land.

During the tenure of Anno of Sangerhausen, in 1260, while a war was being waged between the Mamluks and the Mongols, the Teutonic Knights jointly with the Hospitallers and the Templars fortified the cities of Acre and Tyre.<sup>200</sup> After the Mamluk general Baybars seized the throne of Egypt and Syria in 1260, he became increasingly active against the Christians; in the summer of 1266 he even attempted to take the city of Acre. To oppose Baybars, Hugh II of Lusignan hurried from Cyprus to the Holy Land in October 1266 and led a combined army of his knights, Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights against the Mamluks. The Saracens killed some five hundred of the Christians, but failed to take the city. In 1269 Baybars again appeared before Acre, the knights of the three military religious orders again fought side by side in defense of the city, and Baybars had to retreat without taking Acre.<sup>201</sup>

However, Baybars' pressure on the Christians continued: after capturing the Hospitaller stronghold Krak des Chevaliers and the Templar fortress Chastel Blanc, Baybars on June 5, 1271, appeared before the seat of the master of the Teutonic Knights, Starkenberg (Montfort), and after a week's siege, took the castle on June 12, and destroyed its fortifications.<sup>202</sup> On June 15, 1271, Anno concluded an agreement with the Armenian lord Constantine of Sarvantikar, who allowed the Teutonic Knights to erect a customshouse, probably in the city of Sarvantikar.

The skirmishes between the Christians and the Saracens continued; on November 23 the three military religious orders, aided by the king of Cyprus and the crusaders, departed to the district of Caesarea to capture the tower of Caco (Qaqūn).<sup>203</sup> Unfortunately for the Christians, no real unity prevailed in their ranks: when in 1272 a quarrel arose between the king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, Hugh III and his

199. Perlbach, *Statuten* ("Capitelbeschlüsse vor 1289"), III, par. 1 (p. 135); see also "Gewohnheiten," par. 12.

200. *Manuscrit de Rothelin*, cap. 80.

201. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXIV, 9; Templar of Tyre, ed. Raynaud, cap. 349.

202. Templar of Tyre, ed. Raynaud, cap. 378; *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXIV, cap. 14.

203. *Estoire de Eracles*, loc. cit.

barons, the master of the Templars, the marshal of the Hospitallers, and the grand commander of the Teutonic Knights sailed for Cyprus to patch up their differences; they returned to Acre without achieving anything.<sup>204</sup> Not until a year later was a compromise reached. Even then the coöperation among Hugh, the barons, and the three orders did not improve: in 1276 Hugh III went to Acre by a ship which belonged to the Teutonic Knights<sup>205</sup> but, enraged by the hostility of the Templars and the commune of Acre, he departed for Tyre, intending to return to Cyprus. The Templars and the Venetians now openly displayed their hostility toward Hugh, whereas the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, the Pisans, the Genoese, the prelates, and the commune of Acre realized the danger of the Christian discord in the Holy Land and asked Hugh to appoint a bailie for the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>206</sup>

In the meantime master Anno of Sangerhausen had died on July 6, 1273;<sup>207</sup> he was succeeded by Hartmann of Heldrungen. There is no information about the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land during the tenure of Hartmann. He was succeeded in 1283 by Burkhard of Schwanden, the last master elected in the Holy Land.<sup>208</sup> The bitter strife between the Lusignan king of Cyprus and Jerusalem and his subjects at Acre continued during the tenure of Burkhard: in June 1286 Henry, the infant king of Jerusalem, arrived at Tyre to be crowned king, but the three masters of the military religious orders were hesitant to welcome him; only after learning of the popular enthusiasm which greeted Henry did they change their attitude toward the young king. Even as late as 1288 discord was raging among the potentates of the Holy Land, though the masters of the three orders now held to a common line in the internal disputes.<sup>209</sup>

Finally in the year 1290 a Mamluk army from Egypt under sultan Kalavun began the last assaults on the Christians in Acre. In this year Burkhard returned to the Holy Land after a recruiting mission in Europe, bringing with him forty brothers and some four hundred crusaders. Shortly after his return Burkhard, for undisclosed reasons, suddenly resigned his office and joined the Hospitallers.<sup>210</sup> The com-

204. *Ibid.*, cap. 16.

205. Templar of Tyre, ed. Raynaud, cap. 388.

206. *Estoire de Eracles*, XXXIV, 28.

207. Perlbach, "Necrologe," pp. 358-359, 362.

208. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

209. Templar of Tyre, ed. Raynaud, caps. 438, 467-468.

210. Peter of Dusburg, *SSRP*, I, 205; Ottokar of Styria, *Österreichische Reimchronik*, ed. Seemüller, lines 48210-48220, gives the number of the recruited crusaders as seven hundred. For Ottokar see Stammiller and Langosch, *Die Deutsche Literatur*, V, cols. 834-842.

mand of the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land was taken over by Henry of Bolanden, who because of the siege and the critical situation in Acre was never officially elected master. The Teutonic Knights under his command, together with the royal troops, defended the most vulnerable part of the town wall, the triangle at the Accursed Tower. Henry of Bolanden fell in the final assault on the city, on May 18, 1291.<sup>211</sup> Thaddeus of Naples, though giving no specific facts, praises the bravery of the Teutonic Knights during the siege,<sup>212</sup> and Ludolph of Suchem (Sudheim) relates the last days of the Teutonic Knights in Acre: "the masters and brethren of the orders alone defended themselves, and fought unceasingly against the Saracens, until they were nearly all slain; indeed, the master [Henry of Bolanden] and brethren of the house of the Teutonic order, together with their followers and friends, all fell dead at one and the same time."<sup>213</sup>

Upon Henry of Bolanden's death the master of Germany, Conrad of Feuchtwangen, who had accompanied Burkhard of Schwanden,<sup>214</sup> being the highest surviving commander among the Teutonic Knights, was chosen, again without regular election, by the brother knights in Acre as their new master. Conrad, seeing the crusader cause lost and wishing to return to his own province of Germany, followed the example of the Hospitallers and with the surviving German knights battled his way through the enemy to the ships. Ottokar of Styria, who between 1301 and 1319 completed his "Austrian Chronicle" in verse, tells his readers that the knights had requested Conrad to stay and fight on and share the fate of the rest of the defenders of Acre. However, Conrad had told the Teutonic Knights that it would be a mistake to allow the sultan to kill the knights "without guilt and without need."<sup>215</sup> Ottokar also made Conrad promise to avenge the slaughter of the knights in Acre with the destruction of heathens in Prussia and Livonia.<sup>216</sup> Conrad of Feuchtwangen with some Teutonic Knights and the surviving Hospitallers and Templars escaped by sea to Cyprus, and Ottokar of Styria, combining melancholy and sarcasm, continues his story of the crusader tragedy at Acre: "Now, on the high seas, gathered the small army who called themselves Christians."<sup>217</sup>

211. Perlbach, "Necrologe," p. 364; Templar of Tyre, ed. Raynaud, cap. 485.

212. Thaddeus of Naples, *Hystoria de desolacione et conculacione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte in A.D. MCCXCI*, ed. Paul Riant (Geneva, 1873), pp. 23-24.

213. Ludolph of Suchem, tr. Stewart, p. 57.

214. Ottokar of Styria, *op. cit.*, lines 48215-48220; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 684-685.

215. Ottokar of Styria, *op. cit.*, lines 51773-51804.

216. *Ibid.*, lines 51808-51817.

217. *Ibid.*, lines 51965-51967.

Conrad of Feuchtwangen and his knights did not settle in Cyprus, but took sail to Venice, which remained the official seat of the master until 1309, when it was permanently moved to Marienburg in Prussia.<sup>218</sup> With that move their second and greater epoch began.<sup>219</sup>

218. Walter Raddatz, *Die Uebersiedlung des Deutschen Ordens von Palästina nach Venedig und Marienburg, 1291–1309* (diss., University of Halle, Wittenberg; Halle, 1914); Perlbach, "Das Haus des Deutschen Ordens zu Venedig," in *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, XVII (1880), 270–272.

219. See Edgar N. Johnson, "The German Crusade on the Baltic," in volume III of the present work, chapter XVI.